THE POLITICAL VIEWS OF THE COURT of *FRANCE* DELINEATED.

SHEWING

The perfidious Conduct of the *French* with regard to the Treaties of the *Pyrennees*, *Aix la Chapelle* and *Nimeguen*.

From the *Spaniſh* of Don PEDRO RONQUILLO, Ambaſſador of *Spain* to King CHARLES II.

BEING

A proper SUPPLEMENT to Sir *William Temple*'s MEMOIRS.

WITH A

PREFACE

Written while the Treaty of *Utrecht* was negociated, remarking the further Breach of Faith in the *French*, with regard to the Twenty Years Truce, the Peace of *Ryſwick*, and the *Partition* Treaty.

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THE PREFACE.

WHILE ſo many writers, of all degrees, are daily buſying themſelves to produce ſomething new to the publick about a peace with *France*, I will take the liberty to ſay, that thoſe who argue with moſt vehemence for it at this juncture, ſeem to imagine, that the people of *England* are either very ignorant of what has paſſed in the world, or very much ſubject to forgetfulneſs. Certainly the queſtion, what is a good peace, or a bad one? Is of a much older date than the preſent miniſtry, or even the former; and can only be rightly ſolved by the recollection and judgment of what has been publickly tranſacted in *Europe*, in a long courſe of years. And, therefore, inſtead of amuſing people with new arguments upon an old beaten ſubject, I ſhall firſt lay it down for a foundation, that the *reducing of the exorbitant power of France*, was the deſign propoſed by the high allies, when they entered into this war; becauſe experience had ſhewn, that unleſs the moſt chriſtian king could be deprived of that *Power*, he never would want the *Will* to break any treaty which ſhould be made with him

him. Now, to juſtify this deſign of the allies, and prove the neceſſity of continuing the war till it can be obtained, I here preſent the publick with a general account of the *French* king's violation of all the treaties yet made with him for ſecuring the quiet of chriſtendom, and, becauſe his infractions of the peace made at *Nimeguen*, were more numerous than any other, and ſerve to give a perfect idea of the court of *France*, and of their method of proceeding; nothing can more deſerve the publick attention, than the following particular relation of thoſe infractions, which was ſuppos'd to be written in 1684 by Don *Pedro Ronquillo*, ambaſſador of of *Spain* at the court of *England*, and is here printed intire. To that relation I ſhall premiſe a ſhort view of the violations of the treaties preceding, and ſubſequent to, that of *Nimeguen*.

The treaty of the Pyrenees, *made in* 1659, *between the king of* France, *and the king of* Spain, &c. *has the following words*:

'IT is finally agreed and concluded between 'the two kings, 'That his moſt chriſtian 'majeſty ſhall be allowed three months time, 'to be reckoned from the day of exchanging 'the ratifications of the preſent treaty; during 'which he may ſend to the ſaid kingdom of '*Portugal*, to endeavour to diſpoſe matters for 'adjuſting and ſettling this affair, in ſuch ſort, 'that his catholick majeſty may be fully ſatisfied therewith. *After* the expiration of which

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'three months, if the endeavours and offices of 'his ſaid moſt chriſtian majeſty cannot produce 'the effect propoſed, his ſaid majeſty *ſhall not* 'concern himſelf *any more in the ſaid affair*, 'and *promiſes*, *obliges*, and *engages* himſelf on 'his *honour*, and on the *faith* and *word* of a 'king, for *himſelf* and his *ſucceſſors*, not to *give* 'to the ſaid kingdom of *Portugal* in common, 'nor to any perſon or perſons of it in particu-'lar, of what dignity, eſtate, quality, or con-'dition ſoever they be, *now* or *hereafter*, *any* 'aid or *aſſiſtance*, *publick* or *ſecret*, *directly* or 'indirectly, of *men*, *arms*, *ammunition*, *provi-'ſions*, *ſhips*, *or money*, *under any pretext*, nor 'any other thing that is, or may, be imagined, 'by *land* or by *ſea*, or in any other *manner*: 'As alſo not to permit any *levies* to be made 'in any part of his kiugdoms and dominions, 'nor to grant paſſage to any that may offer to 'come from other ſtates, to ſuccour the ſaid 'kingdom of *Portugal*.'

NEVER was more precaution and exactneſs uſed than in framing and wording this article: I defy the wit of man to conceive and expreſs an article, on a like ſubject, in more comprehenſive, poſitive, and binding terms. But what availed all this? Soon after the concluſion of this peace his moſt chriſtian majeſty disbanded a great body of his beſt troops, in a part of his kingdom that lay moſt convenient for their imbarking for *Portugal*; and at the ſame time count *Schomberg*, being diſmiſſed his ſervice, was ſoon at *Lis-*

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bon with about 8000 of thoſe disbanded men, who carried with them (for the moſt part in *French* bottoms) great quantities of arms and ammunition: In ſhort, they were continued in *Portugal*, receiving recruits conſtantly from *France*. The *Spaniard* exclaimed loudly againſt this breach of the *honour*, *faith*, and *word* of a *king*; but all that the court of *France* condeſcended to ſay to it, was, That neither count *Schomberg*, nor any under his command, had any commiſſion from his moſt chriſtian majeſty, nor had been raiſed in *France* by beat of drum, or by his authority, but had all gone volunteers to *Portugal* of their own free choice, and that to debar his ſoldiers, when disbanded, the liberty of ſeeking their bread and fortunes abroad, would be uſing them hardly; *though it was obſerved, that in other parts of his kingdom, he immediately levied more ſoldiers than he disbanded upon the peace.*

By the ſame treaty of the *Pyrenees*, *Lewis* XIV. and his queen *Maria Thereſa*, daughter of *Philip* IV. of *Spain*, in the moſt poſitive and binding manner, ſolemnly renounced the ſucceſſion of *Spain*, and all its dependencies. This was the very foundation and reaſon of that treaty, and of their marriage: Yet on the death of *Philip* IV. in 1665, his moſt chriſtian majeſty, in violation of that treaty, invaded the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, which he claimed in the right of his wife. The triple alliance, between *England*, *Sweden*, and *Holland*, obliged the *French* king to agree to the treaty of peace at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, in

1668.

1668. But his moſt chriſtian majeſty, deeply reſenting the part the States General had in the triple alliance, which put a ſtop to the conqueſt he had meditated of all the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, violated the treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle* (which only perfected and compleated the triple alliance) by invading *Holland* in 1672. The emperor and the king of *Spain* interpoſing to the aſſiſtance of the ſtates, the treaty of *Nimeguen* put an end to that war in 1678. What the conduct of *France* was from that time to 1684, the reader will ſee by the relation given of it by don *Pedro Ronquillo*: The reader will obſerve, that that relation concludes with the author's wiſh, That God would inſpire with wiſdom the miniſters then aſſembled at the *Hague*: The cauſe of their aſſembling was, a propoſal made by *France* of a truce of twenty years; which was concluded and ſigned at the *Hague* the 29th of *June*, 1684, but was broken by *France*, by the ſiege of *Philipsburgh*, in 1688.

THE happy revolution in *England* gave king *William* means to engage divers ſovereigns to enter into a war, that was abſolutely neceſſary for procuring the repoſe of *Europe*. That war was terminated by the peace of *Ryſwick*, which appeared ſo diſadvantageous to *France*, that the *French* nation cried out againſt it, becauſe the ſecret views and politics of that crown were not known.

BUT *France*, by yielding up ſeveral conqueſts, laid the foundation of their covered deſign, to draw the net over the largeſt monarchy in the u-

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niverſe: They eaſily agreed to all the reſtitutions ſtipulated by that treaty, having formed a project to put themſelves ſoon in poſſeſſion, not only of all that they ſeemed to give up, but of the beſt part of *Europe* and *America*. For the reſt, they had ſo little regard to that treaty, after they had ſigned it, that they made no ſcruple to violate the *Tariff* of commerce, made in conſequence of it with the States General.

LASTLY, The treaty of *Partition* was the greateſt effort of the moſt refined politicks of *France*. It was to no purpoſe, that the moſt chriſtian king was allowed by that treaty to poſſeſs himſelf of divers very conſiderable provinces and kingdoms, *for fear he ſhould invade and take more by force*: He had no ſooner gained his ends by that treaty, than he broke it in ſolemn contempt and mockery of the credulity of the potentates who had made it with him.

UPON the breach of this laſt treaty, his moſt chriſtian majeſty was pleaſed to pronounce that famous diſtinction between the *letter* and the *ſpirit* of treaties, and that the former ought to give way to the latter: After ſo plain a declaration, let the world judge, whether all the word, that can be put into a treaty can ever reſtrain the *French* king from breaking it, whenever he thinks it a proper time *.

BRITISH MUSEUM 17NO85

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* So far the preface to this treatiſe in 1712. Since which time the reſtoring the fortifications and harbour of *Dunkirk*, contrary to the treaty of *Utrecht* made in 1713; the invaſion of the empire in 1733, and the violation of the pragmatick ſanction, *&c.* are, among others, further proofs of the political views of *France*, and ſo freſh in every reader's memory as not to need a particular detail.

THE POLITICAL VIEWS OF THE COURT of *FRANCE*, &c.

FEW who know any thing of the affairs of the world, can be ignorant that what obliged the *French* not many years ago to yield to a peace, was ſeeing the greateſt part of *Germany*, *Spain*, and *Holland*, all in a confederacy againſt her. Her paſt campaigns had been proſperous enough, yet having no reaſon to promiſe herſelf the continuation of the like ſucceſſes, ſhe endeavoured to prevent the evils which might befall her by a change of fortune: But her chief motive to a peace was, ſhe found herſelf threatened with the arms of *England*, which, in conjunction with thoſe of ſo many other potentates, ſhe knew would be able to humble her, more than ſhe ſeemed to have exalted herſelf; it had been repreſented to the king of *England*, that he might now make uſe of the preſent opportunity to carry his arms into a kingdom wherein once his anceſtors had ſo many fair and rich provinces; an enterprize in which he could meet but with ſmall oppoſition, ſince the force of the nation was

almoſt wholly employed abroad; and that this was the true way for him to augment both his dominions and his honour; by theſe reaſons, or rather by the jealouſies which the people of *England* had conceived of the encreaſe of the *French* power, his *Britannick* majeſty was brought to reſolve on ſomething more than his own pacifick temper would have dictated to him. The *French* no ſooner heard of that king's having, on the forementioned motives, taken this reſolution, than they cauſed him to be told, *That they were ready to lay down their arms, and would be content with any conditions that he ſhould preſcribe.* Upon this a good quantity of dubloons was dexterouſly diſtributed in *England*, among thoſe who had puſhed on the war with the greateſt vehemence; in a moment the *Engliſh* were ſtruck dumb, and the offers which *France* had made were judg'd reaſonable; by this means, when it was believed that *England* was upon the point of declaring war, of a ſudden we ſaw her turned into a mediator of peace; conditions were propoſed by all the parties, whilſt every one was diſputing about their rights, which laſted a long time, and without any ceſſation of arms. *France*, who deſired nothing ſo much as to ſeparate the *Dutch* from the reſt of the allies, ſent her emiſſaries into *Holland*, artificially to inſinuate to the people, that *the* States General *could recover the great loſſes which they had ſuſtained by the war, by no other way but by a peace; and that as hitherto the whole charge of the war had lain upon them, ſo it would certainly be kept upon them, as long as the war laſted; and as trade could not poſſibly flouriſh in times of ſo great miſeries and devaſtations, they therefore, whoſe ſtrength and riches were ſolely ſupported by trade, were under an abſolute neceſſity to ſeek, by all poſſible means, to have a peace re-eſtabliſhed, during which they had*

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been ſo powerful. In theſe reaſons a poiſon lay concealed, and almoſt unobſerved; for though it might appear to be neceſſary for the States to have a peace, yet the intereſt of the allies, who had come into the war to preſerve them, was a thing which ought to have been conſidered; but ſuch reflections as theſe not being grateful to the people, who deſired nothing ſo much as the re-eſtabliſhment of their trade, they were forced to give way to popular dictates: But what made the *Dutch* moſt weary of the war, was their being put in mind by *France*, that the emperor's, the elector of *Brandenburgh*'s, and the reſt of the allies troops, were paid by the States, by which great charge, their taxes ſurmounted their rents; he that had four thouſand eſcudos in rents having paid five thouſand to the publick taxes, which they ſaid would deſtroy them without remedy; and ſo according to the common ſaying, every one felt his own burden, and conſidered only the time preſent, without regarding, or making any proviſion for the future.

THE prince of *Orange* only, of all the members of that republick, had penetrated into the ill conſequences of a peace, and foreſaw, that in the preſent ſtate of affairs a peace was not to be had, but to the prejudice of all the allies; ſeeing none that were unwilling to deceive themſelves, could hope that *France*, who at preſent was ſo proud and full of her new conqueſts, would be brought by a treaty to part with them: wherefore ſince there was no other way to recover the places which they had loſt, but by force of arms, he ſaid, *That the allies ought not ſo much as to mention a treaty, or to ask* France *to reſtore them:* That prince told them farther, *that to leave* France *in the poſſeſſion of ſo many ſtrong places on the confines of* Germany *and* Holland, *at all which countries*

tries the French *ambition did viſibly aim, was voluntarily to leave them with one foot in thoſe countries, and with a power to bring the other in after it when they pleaſed.* The prince was alſo ſenſible how much it had coſt to unite all the princes of *Germany*; which being a machine compoſed of ſo many different parts, cannot be moved altogether but with great difficulty, and that there was great cauſe to fear, if they were once ſeparated, it would not be an eaſy matter to join them together again.

BUT though all theſe things had been many times repreſented by the prince of *Orange* in the aſſemblies of the States General, he had always met with oppoſition there; having been told by thoſe of a contrary opinion, that they could not poſſibly ſuſtain the expence of the war any longer, the people being already reduced by it to extreme poverty; and that they muſt therefore be allowed to take ſome reſt, ſince without it they would be deſtroyed the ſooner: And the prince of *Orange* having told them, *That that reſt would not laſt long, for it was plain, that* France *ſought only to ſeparate them from their allies; and having once done that, ſhe would not fail to viſit them again in a year or two*; his mouth was ſtopp'd by one *Hoft* a burgo-maſter of *Amſterdam*, who told him, *That the provinces would ſuffer him to carry on the war with a very good will, if he could do it without money; but, that the province of* Holland, *or at leaſt the city of* Amſterdam, *in whoſe name he ſpoke, was reſolved not to contribute money to it any longer.* Now here you are to know, that of all the ſubſidies raiſed in all the United Provinces, that of *Holland* pays almoſt the half; and of that half, the city of *Amſterdam* pays more than two fifths: So that in the repartition which they make of their taxes, if the province of *Holland*

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pays fifteen millions, the city of *Amſterdam* pays near ſeven.

After this declaration by the burgo-maſter *Hoft*, all appearances of being able to continue the war vaniſhed, the reſt of the provinces having in a manner conformed themſelves to that of *Holland*; for though they had not declared themſelves ſo openly, yet it was plain that they did all incline to a peace: On the other ſide, the emperor, who was ſenſible of the deſigns of *France*, and that ſhe had an univerſal monarchy in her view, was extremely troubled when he heard what had paſſed at *Holland*; and being earneſt to remove thoſe provinces from their purpoſe, he let them know, *That he would no longer pretend to thoſe ſubſidies which he had hitherto received from them, but on the contrary, offered to give them the ſame ſuccours which they had afforded him*; but though the *Dutch* thanked the emperor kindly for his good will, they would not be perſuaded by him to carry the war on any longer; and having obſerved how the emperor and the reſt of the allies were daily ſtarting new obſtacles to the treaty which was on foot at *Nimeguen*, they ſolicited them all to conclude it quickly, if they would not have them conclude it without them.

But the thing that cauſed them to make moſt haſte, was, that the harder the conditions of peace were which the *French* plenipotentiaries preſcribed to the reſt of the allies, the more advantagious were thoſe which were offered by them to the *Dutch*, to whom they promiſed to reſtore *Maeſtritcht*, the only place remaining in their hands, by the large conqueſts they had made in the United Provinces; by which reſtitution, and a peace, the *Dutch* reckoned, that after having been ſo near a total ruin, they ſhould ſee themſelves re-eſtabliſhed in the ſame eſtate they were

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in during their greateſt proſperity. Another thing that inclined them to a peace, was, their ſeeing themſelves diſtinguiſhed in ſuch a manner by the king of *France*, from the reſt of the allies, which made them deaf to all that repreſented to them, that the end of that diſtinction, was to ſeparate them from their friends, which was by the *Dutch* attributed to the *French* ſtill retaining ſome of that reſpect for them which they had claimed in former times, and therefore imagined, that if they could but once obtain a peace, they ſhould not only be reſtored to the figure they had made before the war amongſt the *French*, but amongſt all the other nations. A ſuppoſition very different from that which was inſinuated to them by their beſt and moſt able patriots, who having before their eyes the ready and powerful aſſiſtances with which the arms of the catholick king had delivered them from an entire and irreparable ruin, with a grateful and political ingenuity put the democratical vulgar in mind of the late motives which had promoted a peace betwixt the king of *Spain* and the States General at the treaty of *Munſter*, and that ſince that time the principal intereſt of *Holland* had been founded on an indiſſoluble union with *Spain*, by reaſon of the inеſtimable conveniences which in times both of peace and war thereby accrued to their republick by a continual increaſe of wealth and ſecurity; and that the *French*, by the repugnancy they had manifeſted to that peace, had publiſhed the ſecret of their inſatiable ambition, to which the continuation of the war was directed; and that at laſt having encompaſſed them, and being on their confines, in a ſhort time they would ſee them change their friendly maſk for its contrary, as they uſed to do with all their neighbours, and make them feel their deſigns on an univerſal monarchy:

narchy: Finally, that the United Provinces having twice owed their liberty to *Spain*, neither good policy, nor morals would allow them to break the ſacred knot of that confederacy; but, on the contrary, oblige them to obſerve the agreements which had been made and ſworn to in it, that they might not diſcredit themſelves with all the nations of the world, for preferring the *doubtful faith of a people, who of all others are the leaſt obſervant of their word*, to the ſincere and powerful ſupport of ſo many faithful allies, and eſpecially of the greateſt, the neareſt, and the moſt neceſſary; who, for the common cauſe, had been deſpoiled of entire provinces; and that under the aſhes of a deceitful peace, into which they were unadviſedly ready to precipitate themſelves, there would quickly be matter prepared and diſpoſed for the kindling a new flame after the union of the confederates was once diſſolved.

But neither this, nor the exclamations of the allies againſt what they called inconſtancy, lightneſs, and an enormous breach of treaties, were able to ſhake the inflexible prepoſſeſſions of the *Hollanders*; they admitted a particular peace, and at ſo unſeaſonable a time as to ſign it on the ſame day whereon the pride of the enemy had met with a great check in the battle of *Cateu*; and whoſe main army had probably been defeated the next day before *Montz*, had not the fatal news of the peace's being ſigned, ſheathed the ſwords of the victors.

The emperor and the king of *Spain* ſeeing themſelves abandoned by their chief ſupport, now likewiſe received the peace on their parts, leaving the elector of *Brandenburgh* wholly alone, who not being able to accept of the hard conditions which were offered him, *France* invaded his country; where not finding himſelf alone able to with-

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ſtand that great power, he was compelled to yield to whatſoever *France* required, but with the comfort which generous minds pay to themſelves, with his ſword in his hand, and which laſt action of that prince's anſwered the other glorious exploits which had been performed by him during the war.

A PEACE having been thus concluded, ſo much to the guſto of the *French*, and conſiſtently with their grand deſign of univerſal monarchy; they, ſeeing all the confederates ſeparated, and the alliance broke to pieces, began to ſet negotiations on foot, with thoſe from whom they thought they might promiſe themſelves ſome advantages: *Brandenburgh*, inſtead of complaining of the States General, the true authors of his misfortunes, was angry with the emperor, not conſidering that his *Ceſarean* majeſty, as well as the catholick king, and the princes of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburgh*, had been compelled to accept of the deſpotick propoſitions of *France*.

France, when ſhe began to court the elector by great promiſes to enter into an alliance with her, found him inconſolable, and as it were choaked with choler, for having ſeen himſelf obliged to let go all his conqueſts, without a ſingle ſtep having been made by any body to aſſiſt him; ſhe therefore began by buying, and not very cheap, in the electoral court, votes and voices, to approve of, and applaud this new alliance; by which means, the ſingular benignity which ſo great a monarch manifeſted to the elector, when to other princes, who are his neighbours, he held forth nothing but his power, and the terrour of his arms, was of a ſudden praiſed and extolled to the skies; beſides the royal protection, great ſupplies of money were likewiſe offered to that prince, with ſo many other conveniencies, that in the end

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he was ſhaken by the force of ſuch offers: However, he was withheld from ſurrendering himſelf intirely to them, by the differences which he had with the *Swedes*, the devoted and ancient allies of *France*; and whereas thoſe differences have been the original of frequent debates, it will not be improper here ſuccinctly to touch on their cauſes and effects. Many years ago, a certain marqueſs of *Brandenburgh*, and a duke of *Pomerania*, made a mutual agreement, in virtue whereof they reciprocally inſtituted one the other heirs of their eſtate, and after them their children, in caſe the heirs of the one or the other died without ſucceſſion: Which agreement having taken place in the perſon of a certain duke of *Pomerania*, who died about two hundred years ago, the marqueſs of *Brandenburgh* ſucceeded him in that dutchy, which was peaceably enjoyed by him, and his deſcendants, until *Guſtavus Adolphus*, king of *Sweden*, conquered it, and was confirmed in the poſſeſſion of it by the peace of *Munſter*. But as the marqueſs of *Brandenburgh* had not conſented to that treaty but by force; ſo he ſtill retained a ſecret deſire to recover that dutchy.

The king of *France* ſeeing that it was this that hindered that elector from entering into his intereſt, reſolved to ſacrifice *Sweden* to that conſideration; but before he did that, he was willing to ſecure the king of *Denmark*, reckoning that if he had that crown and *Brandenburgh* on his ſide, he ſhould be ſo ſtrong in the north, as not to have cauſe to fear any other princes who ſhould attempt to oppoſe his projects. The king of *Denmark*, as well as the reſt, having ſeen the great power of *France*, in the laſt war, would not refuſe her alliance, though, after the example of *Brandenburgh*, he ſtuck likewiſe at the differences which he had with *Sweden*, and diſcovered that

nothing but thoſe differences hindered him from admitting the conditions which had been propos'd. *France* was not well ſatisfied with the *Swedes* for their having been ſo long before they declared themſelves in the laſt war, and for their not having, after they had declared themſelves, done any thing worthy of the reputation which *Guſtavus* had given their arms; ſo that inſtead of conſidering them as formerly, *France* neglected to aſſiſt them according to their neceſſities in thoſe times, which were ſo diſaſtrous to them.

THE firſt occaſion that preſented itſelf for mortifying the *Swedes*, was the homage which the king of *France* required from the dutchy of *Deux-ponts*, of which he had made himſelf maſter during the war, even before the laſt duke died, on pretence of ſecuring it for the king of *Sweden*, who was the next heir, but in truth with an intention of keeping it for himſelf, to make uſe of for carrying on his vaſt deſigns. Since the homage which the crown of *France* pretends to require from ſo many ſovereign princes, is here come in my way, I will here ſet down what gave riſe to this *chimera*, which has diſturbed the repoſe of all *Europe*.

In the city of *Metz*, there is a ſovereign court, or audience, whoſe procurator general having been commanded by the king of *France* to draw up an exact relation of all the *dependencies* of the ſaid audience, and to ſend it to him at *Paris*, he had inſerted into that relation many villages which had formerly depended on that tribunal, with notes how they had been ſeparated from it, and aggregated to the juriſdiction of ſome neighbouring princes, who were glad of their having acquired them; this paper was framed ſo well, and for want of ſolid foundations was adorned with ſo many ingenious fictions, that the miniſters being

pleaſed

pleaſed with it, called that procurator general to them, to remove ſome ſcruples about that matter; and who being come, did not only defend all that he had writ, but finding that this work might raiſe him, he told them further, that he met with ſome ancient writings which juſtified the dutchy of *Deuxponts*, having always depended on the biſhopricks of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, which are all under the power of the king of *France*; and that beſides that dutchy, many more conſiderable places had been diſmembered from thoſe biſhopricks, with the conſent of the biſhops, for the benefit of their kindred: and that thoſe biſhops having had the biſhopricks only for the term of their own lives, had thought fit to accommodate their own families at the coſt of the church, which they had no right to do. The *French* miniſters being much pleaſed with this relation, commanded the procurator general to return to *Metz*, and to peruſe all the publick regiſters of that country; and in caſe he found any thing more of the ſame kind, to note it carefully, to be made uſe of as occaſion offered.

To ſhew here, that I am not partial to what I write for the inſtruction of the publick, I own, that there was ſomething of truth in what the procurator general had related; many biſhops, to help their kindred, having granted them ſome eſtates which lay commodious for them, by reaſon of their ſituation: But the biſhops at the ſame time received other eſtates in exchange for them, ſo that if things muſt be brought back to their firſt ſtate, equity requires that they ſhould either reſtore the lands that were given in exchange, or deſiſt from pretending to have thoſe reſtored which had been alienated. But to return; the procurator general, as ſoon as he was got to *Metz*, examined not only all the publick regiſters,

ſters, but all the archives of the churches and abbies; and having the ſovereign authority for what he did, carried all thoſe writings away with him, without either calling a witneſs, or making an inventory, both which he ought to have done, not only that every one might have their own again, but to have avoided that ſuſpicion which aroſe afterwards, of thoſe parchments not being ſo ancient as he made them to be: However, the procurator general having ſhut himſelf up, for ſome time, to make his memoirs, they were no ſooner finiſhed, than he returned to the court, full of preſumption and confidence, ſaying, that he carried things with him which would be very acceptable to his ſuperiors; and among the reſt, were thoſe pretenſions which made ſo great a noiſe afterwards, and which at this time diſturb all *Europe*.

BUT, notwithſtanding the great confidence and vanity of this inſtrument of ſo many evils, the marqueſs *de Louvois*, who was ſecretary of ſtate and war, and a miniſter of great reputation in that kingdom, when he preſented thoſe papers to him, could not forbear ſmiling; for though a war was not for any one's intereſt ſo much as for his, yet not ſeeing any foundation for the matters contained in thoſe papers, he was not forward to vouch for them to the king, to whom he knew other pretences would not be wanting whenever he ſhould be diſpoſed to commence a new war; he therefore asked the procurator general *from whence he had all that ſtuff?* when the procurator, pulled another memorial out of his portmanteau, with the ſeals of all the inſtruments, true or falſe, which he had made uſe of: And, as one who hoped to make his fortune by the ſucceſs of this buſineſs, he told *Louvois* ſo many things, that he promiſed to peruſe his memoirs, and afterwards give him his thoughts of them; which having done, he

ſhewed

ſhewed him more favour than at his firſt audience. And here, without making a commentary of all that paſſed during that ſhort interval, *Louvois* commanded him to continue his diligence, and promiſed him, that when a junto was formed to liquidate the king's pretenſions to ſo many different principalities, he ſhould be named preſident of it; which was not leſs, than to make him from a party in a cauſe, the judge of it. I was willing to enlarge on this odious matter, believing I ſhould gratify the reader with a relation of the original of the evils we ſuffer, and which are going on to cauſe great diſorders and confuſions in many ſtates: To return, the king of *France* making now no account of the alliance of *Sweden*, ordered that king to be cited to do him homage for the dutchy of *Deuxponts*. The *Swede*, who though but young, is a prince inferior to none either for courage or conſtancy, was amazed at this unheard-of pretenſion; but not being willing, without great cauſe, to break with the king of *France*, he repreſented to him, by his ambaſſador, the injury that he did him; that the dutchy of *Deuxponts* having always been a ſovereign principality, the lords of it had never done homage for it to any, if that name be not given to the act by which they deſired the inveſtiture of it of the emperor. But theſe reaſons not being agreeable to the modern genius of the *French* court, they went on in their unjuſt pretenſions; and after divers conferences about it, betwixt the ambaſſador of *Sweden* and the *French* miniſters, the chamber of *Metz* paſſed this ſentence, *That the dutchy of* Deuxponts *be united to the crown of* France, *if within a certain time the king of* Sweden *did not make a due ſubmiſſion.* But, that they might not appear to covet other men's eſtates, they after that ſentence was paſſed, offered the inveſtiture of

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that dutchy to duke *Adolph*, who was uncle to the king of *Sweden*, if the king his nephew refuſed to do homage for it according to the ſentence: But while duke *Adolph* was in a perplexity betwixt the temptation of accepting of that dutchy, and the fear of diſpleaſing the king of *Sweden*, *France* ſent to the prince palatine of *Berkenfield*, of the family of the Palatinates, to take upon him the charge of that dutchy in the name of duke *Adolph* his kinſman, giving him a promiſe at the ſame time, that if that duke would not accept of it, and do homage for it, it ſhould be given him without delay; the prince of *Berkenfield*, by whom this favour of the king's was highly eſteemed, having in the name of duke *Adolph* done homage for that dutchy, he departed to execute the king's commands. I ſhall not pronounce here what was extraordinary in this proceedure, becauſe it is not always grateful to the reader, that he who writes ſhould decide the cauſes; which is to ſet bounds to his imagination, and laws to his judgment; it is, I ſay, enough for a writer to act as I do, to relate matters as they are, leaving it to the reader to judge of them as he ſhall ſee cauſe. But to put an end to this ſhort digreſſion, which may be of ſome profit to thoſe that are engaged in ſuch a work; the king of *Sweden* when he heard what had been done in *France* in oppoſition to his right and honour, ſeparated himſelf from that alliance with the moſt chriſtian king; which during the late war he had followed, to the great prejudice of his eſtates, and many times with the hazard of his own life, having fought in perſon at the head of his troops, in three or four battles, for the intereſt of *France*, from whom he had hoped to have met with different returns from what he now found.

THE king of *Denmark* and the elector of *Brandenburgh*, when they had notice of the reſolution

which

which had been taken by the king of *Sweden*, preſently concluded their treaties with *France*, which promiſed to the king of *Denmark* ſhips and troops, not only to recover the provinces which had been taken from him by the king of *Sweden*'s father, but likewiſe to take the city of *Lubeck*; on which place he had, with certain imaginary pretenſions, for a long time meditated great deſigns. The marquis of *Brandenburgh* was promiſed great things likewiſe in this alliance; by which thoſe three potentates were joyfully linked together, to involve the north in a new war.

After *France* had ſecured herſelf on that ſide, ſhe went on with other ſentences of the ſame ſtamp with that which has been mentioned, requiring the ſame homage of ſeveral other ſovereign princes. Many that found themſelves not able to reſiſt, ſubmited to all ſhe required, in the ſame manner as the *Tranſylvanians* and *Wallachians* do to the *Turks*: Others that ſhewed more conſtancy, were preſently chaſtiſed for it, with garriſons put into their towns, which forced them to comply. The account of what was done in this caſe to the *Rhinegrave*, is curious enough: *France* having found that prince in great authority in his own countries, and being ſenſible how powerful his example would be with others, ſhe cauſed it to be inſinuated to him, that he ought to do what ſhe required, unleſs he would oblige her to reduce him by force; at the ſame time aſſuring him, that if he obeyed, all his pre-eminencies and rights ſhould be reſtored to him. The *Rhinegrave*, being far from having any doubt of what they had offered to him, was pleaſed to ſee ſo powerful and formidable a crown thus diſtinguiſh him from thoſe, who being already encompaſſed in their net, were lamenting the loſs of their honour and liberty. Upon this aſſurance the *Rhinegrave* ſhewed

ed the way to others to do homage. But he was ſoon undeceived, for when he came afterwards to ſpeak of his re-integration to thoſe who had given him their word for it, they preſently let him know, *That they had no power to do it, but adviſed him to repair to the court for it*: The *Rhinegrave* did ſo, but it was to hear, *that he might have excuſed his journey, and that they could not enough wonder that ſuch a petty prince as he was, did not think it honour and happineſs enough to be the vaſſal of ſo grand a monarch.* An anſwer not much different from this was given by them to the *Elector Palatine*, who having ſent a gentleman to the court of *France*, to lament the great devaſtations which were continually made in his countries, to the prejudice of the peace; they told him with much plainneſs, *That when a little prince, like the* Elector Palatine, *had the honour to be on the confines of the eſtates of ſo grand a monarch, he muſt not ſhew himſelf techy.* But theſe are roſes, if I may ſo ſpeak, to the thorns which preſently followed.

France went on pretending to her rights of dependencies; and ſeeing *Spain*, unprepared, and without any help from others, ſhe laid claim to the old borough of *Gaunt*, to the town and caſtellany of *Aloſt*, and to ſeveral other places, on pretence that thoſe lands had been taken by her arms, and that reſtitution of them had not been ſtipulated in the treaty of *Nimeguen*. To this claim the *Spaniſh* miniſters anſwered, that they were all open places, and without any defence during the whole time of the laſt war, and had therefore never changed their lord by invaſion and military violence; and as they had never been fortified, nor put in a ſtate of defence, ſo they had never been yielded up by any treaty; and they added, that if *France*, during the time of the laſt war, had no lawful poſſeſſion of any of thoſe places, to

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claim the ſovereignty of them to herſelf, ſhe could much leſs lay claim to it after the peace, which eſtabliſhed the one and the other crown in all their ancient rights, except where it was covenanted to the contrary; the evidence of which reaſons, the very articles of the peace which the king of *France* had made in the month of *April*, proved to be inconteſtable; he having by thoſe articles obliged himſelf expreſsly to reſtore *Gaunt*, and all its dependencies; and the king of *France* having conquered the ſaid places only under the title of the dependencies of *Gaunt*, (for it is certain, that all the acts of juriſdiction exerciſed by *France* over thoſe places during the war, were founded only on that title; and according to the rules of juſtice, it is not lawful to change the title of poſſeſſion, he ought therefore to reſtore the whole under the ſame title to the catholick king. Beſides, ſince *France* had explained herſelf ſufficiently as to this matter, by her having declared, that by that means ſhe had eſtabliſhed in the low countries, a frontier capable of forming the barrier, which *England* and *Holland*, and the other neighbouring States, believed to be neceſſary to their ſecurity; this barrier could not ſubſiſt, if the king of *France* had retained the ſaid places, but would have been interrupted by them, to the very garriſons and fortifications of the States General of the United Provinces.

THE *French* miniſters perceiving how little reaſon they had on their ſide, and that this pretenſion could not poſſibly ſubſiſt with their king's articles of peace, which the duke *de Villa Harmoſa* had accepted of, and moderated, with the following condition; *intending truly that all the conqueſts which the moſt chriſtian king may have made in any part of the world, in the ſtates and dominions of the king his lord, which are not expreſſed in the ſaid article, ſhall alſo be reſtored*

to his catholick majeſty: Which propoſitions and acceptation had ſerved for a baſis, and were the true foundation of that which was ſettled by the treaty of *Nimeguen*: The *French*, I ſay, having found that the ſaid pretence could not poſſibly ſubſiſt with what had been adjuſted and concluded by that treaty, they ſought to have ſoftened it by another as unjuſt; which was, that *France* would accept of an equivalent for thoſe towns and countries, a thing which *France* had never propoſed before, nor had *Spain* ever promiſed; for is it at all likely, that the king of *France*, having had the ceſſion which he deſired in exchange for the ſaid barrier, and with which he ſaid he was contented, ſhould either in reality, or by an equivalent, intend to retain a part of the ſaid barrier, for which that ceſſion had been made? Beſides, this pretence was directly contrary to the general diſpoſition contained in the ſeventh article of the treaty of *Nimeguen*, *To reſtore on the one ſide and the other all towns, places, forts, caſtles, and poſts, which the arms of the one or the other crown had, or could have occupied, until the day of the publication of the peace in what part ſoever of the world they were ſituated.*

THE injuſtice of the procedure of *France* manifeſted itſelf yet more, in the pretended ſentence, or decree, pronounced on the 29th of *May* 1681, by the chamber of juſtice which the *French* king had eſtabliſhed at *Metz*, at the inſtance of the procurator-general *Ravaux* againſt the catholick king, as count of *Chimay*, againſt all his vaſſals mediate and immediate, and againſt the provoſt and all the native officers and inhabitants of the ſaid county, with all its appurtenancies and dependencies; pretending, contrary to all truth, that thoſe dependencies extended themſelves to the gates of the capital city of *Luxemburgh*. In conſequence of this decree, the *French* required the *Spaniards* to put them in poſſeſ-

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ſion of the ſaid county, which if they did not, they threatened to ſeize.

THE ambaſſador of *Spain*, with all his comprehenſion, not knowing what to anſwer to this new law, deſired time to acquaint his king with it: They granted him ſuch time as he had deſired; but when that was paſt, the *French*, perceiving that the *Spaniards* intended to baffle this pretence, they cauſed their troops to march forthwith into the country of *Luxemburgh*; and having blocked up all the paſſages to the capital city, and drawn a line about it, in a full peace they committed all the acts of hoſtility which they could have committed in a declared war. The governor of *Luxemburgh* ſent a trumpet to the commander in chief of the *French* troops, to ask him, *if* France *had proclaimed war againſt* Spain? He anſwered, *no*; *but had only taken poſſeſſion of that which belonged to her.* Under the colour of taking poſſeſſion, the *French* hindred all ſorts of proviſions from being carried into *Luxemburgh*, neither would they ſuffer any perſon whatſoever to come out of it; and that in ſuch a manner, that if any came out they conſtrained them to go back, pretending they were ſent forth as ſpies to obſerve them; and if any came from the country, as the peaſants uſed to do with proviſions to the market, after they had taken all their goods from them, they ſent them home; and if any came without proviſions, they ſuffered them to paſs; but when they pretended to return home again, they drove them back to the city, to encreaſe the number of mouths, that their proviſions might be conſumed the ſooner.

WHEN I conſider all theſe violences, nothing amazes me ſo much, as to ſee the king of *England* who was both the mediator of the peace, and the actual guarantee of it, take no care at all to ſee it obſerved; for he looked on, and ſaw all this, without appearing to be in the leaſt concerned at it: And ſo

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ſecure was the king of *France* of that prince, that he did not only continue his hoſtilities, but offered to make him the judge of all his pretenſions: This made *Spain* deſperate, who finding that king's procedure, ſo contrary to his obligations, both as mediator and a guarantee, ſhe did not know how to reſolve to truſt him with her intereſt, neither could ſhe comprehend how the king of *France* came to offer to his arbitriment ſo notorious an * injury. In this perplexity *Spain* reſolved to venture ſomething; and whereas *Luxemburgh* was on the point of being loſt for proviſions, ſhe ordered the governor ſecretly, at any price and hazard, to open a paſſage. The governor, who deſired nothing elſe, having ſolicited long before for leave to do it, ſallied out of the town at a time when the *French* leaſt expected him; and having advanced to one of their quarters, he inveſted it until the *French* took up arms to oppoſe him; which they did with great reſolution; but being overpowered by the ſuperior force of their enemy, the governor went forward to meet a convoy which he had before appointed to be ready, and which he carried into the city with him; there were about two hundred *French* killed, and eighteen or twenty *Spaniards*, but no man of quality, or of any poſt on either ſide. The *French*, when they heard of this ſucceſs, raved moſt terribly againſt the *Spaniards*, as if it had been an unpardonable crime in them, not to ſuffer themſelves to be ſtarved; and thereupon the king of *France* commanded a great body of his troops to march forthwith into the *Spaniſh* countries: But as they were on the point of doing it, they were ſtopped by the king of *England*, who had jndged that the *Spaniards* ſhould give ſatisfaction to the *French*, diſown the action of the governor of *Luxemburgh*, turn him out of his poſt, and alſo pay a good ſum of money to *France* for her loſs. After this patch, the *French* returned to block up *Luxemburgh*

* The *Spaniſh* is *Sinrazon*; a thing void of Reaſon.

burgh as before, reinforcing their quarters, and going their rounds every hour to ſecure themſelves; in fine, they did every thing which the fear of being ſurprized a ſecond time dictated to them.

HERE I cannot deny myſelf another ſhort digreſſion, and ask, what poſterity will ſay, to its being lawful for one ſide to commit all hoſtilities? what to the other's being chaſtiſed for being ſo little complaiſant, as not to ſtarve rather than diſcompoſe thoſe that will not ſuffer them to have bread? it will be hard for the next age to believe this, notwithſtanding at preſent it is a truth that all the world knows: But as the garriſon of *Luxemburgh* was numerous, and could not be long ſuſtained by that convoy, ſo it quickly began to ſuffer the ſame inconveniencies as before. The governor, who was a man of courage, panted to die with his ſword in his hand, rather than live blocked up thus, and to act unworthy of his obligations; but he was forced every day to ſuffer a thouſand affronts, without daring to repel them; for the *French*, knowing what orders he had, moved by their own natural pride and reſtleſsneſs, frequently came within half a league of the garriſon, deſtroying the corn upon the ground with their horſes feet, challenging the *Spaniards* to come out and fight them if they durſt. In the mean time the king of *France* had adjuſted the buying of *Caſſel* with the duke of *Mantua:* This was reſented by none ſo juſtly as by the emperor; for, beſides *Caſſel*'s being a fief of the empire, he was the preſumptive heir of that ſtate, ſo that he intereſted himſelf in it on two accounts; the one as emperor, and the other as the neareſt relation of the duke of *Mantua*. It was not to be thought that the king of *France* would humble himſelf ſo far as to ſend to the emperor to deſire the inveſtiture of it, as is the cuſtom of all the fiefs of the empire; he believed himſelf ſuperior to all rules and ordinary ſtiles, and that his power

power had exempted him from all ſubordination whatſoever; this the procurator-general of *Metz* one day aſſerted, in very extraordinary terms, for having been told by a friend in the beginning of his innovations, that he could not think his ſentences had force enough to oblige ſo many ſovereign princes to make themſelves ſubjects, he anſwered, *he had a maſter, who, with an hundred pieces of cannon, an hundred thouſand men, and an hundred millions, which he never wanted, would ſee them all executed.*

FRANCE, whoſe ambition cannot ſatisfy itſelf with any conqueſt, was angry at this time with the republick of *Genoa*, on purpoſe to have a pretext to deprive her of her liberty; the *Genoeſe* ſent an ambaſſador to excuſe themſelves; but as reaſons are never wanting on occaſions when they ſeek to ſatisfy their covetouſneſs, the excuſes of the *Genoeſe* were not well received, a new cauſe was likewiſe moved, and the *Genoeſe* were commanded to reſtore all the goods of the family of *Fieſca*, with the intereſt due for above an age; I think none can be ignorant of the ſucceſs of that family, and how it came to be baniſhed *Genoa*, without my relating it; ſo I ſhall only ſay, that ſuch an extravagant, not to ſay unjuſt pretenſion, was never heard of before, as that *France* ſhould oblige a free republick to reſtore to the ſucceſſor of a traytor, all his goods, which they had confiſcated, for his atrocious crimes; as if *France* herſelf had never confiſcated any, and did not every day confiſcate the goods of all that withdrew themſelves from their devotion. In fine, though this dependency has not yet made all the diſturbance which might be feared from it, I do not think that it is forgot; on the contrary, though it is at preſent diſſembled and laid aſleep, I apprehend, that if God does not prevent it, it will awake one day in a general flame over all *Italy*: for it is not to be imagined that *France* has renounced the deſign of conquering

quering that republick, upon her having deferred it, becauſe at preſent it undoubtedly imports her more, to attend to the conqueſt of *Flanders*, which has always given her ſtrong longings, and is now expoſed to her ambition, by thoſe troubleſome embaraſſes, which make it impoſſible for the emperor to ſuccour her: *France* would do ill to raiſe to herſelf many enemies at once, ſince ſhe knows not how to deſtroy them but ſucceſſively; and is not ignorant of the manner how to put in execution that advice which a wiſe man gave his ſons; who finding himſelf at the point of death, commanded them to fetch him a great number of arrows, ſome tied together in bundles, and others ſingle; and having given him theſe firſt, he commanded his ſons to break them, which they did with eaſe; he then bid them take the others, with the ſame command to break them, which they not having been able to do, he took occaſion to admoniſh them to continue ſtill united if they deſired to be invincible. *France* does that with moſt princes which thoſe ſons did with the ſingle arrows; ſhe ſubdues them eaſily one after another, whereas were they all well united, they would be found ſtrong enough to reduce her to reaſon. Our anceſtors appear to me to be much wiſer than we are. When I remember, that after the battle of *Pavia*, in which *Charles* V. triumphed over the fortune of *Francis* I. the greater part of the potentates ſeparated themſelves preſently from the ſide of the victorious, and went over to that which was conquered; they conſidered that it was not convenient to ſuffer the power of a crown, which was already too formidable, to increaſe; and by that means they reſtored the affairs of *France*, which were then in a much worſe ſtate than ours are in at preſent; but the grief is, that all know what happened in the time of their anceſtors, but few know how to imitate them. I ſee very well, that I am inſenſibly departed from my argument,

ment, and have ſuffered myſelf to be carried away by the force of truth; but I ſhall mend this digreſſion, though excuſable, by telling, that whilſt all *Italy* was aſtoniſhed at the ſucceſs of the affair of *Caſſel*, *France* was forging another machine in the ſame country, which cauſed great diſquietude.

Savoy, every one knows, is ſituated betwixt *France* and the ſtates of *Spain*; I mean thoſe which the catholick king is poſſeſſed of in *Italy*: The neighbourhood of theſe two great potentates has been the cauſe why the dukes of *Savoy* have had but little reſt; for when thoſe two crowns declared war, they were forced to join with one of them, not to ſee their country deſtroyed by both, as it commonly happens to thoſe who think to maintain themſelves neutral; and the advantage having conſtantly been great which the duke of *Savoy* added to the ſide he joined himſelf to, they both ſtrive to gain him; ſo at one time *France* married one of her princeſſes to him, and at another time *Spain* gave him one of her infanta's. The need which both the crowns ſtood in of that duke, always produced him ſome new advantage. *France*, who knew how dear *Spain*'s alliance with this prince had ſometimes coſt her, reſolved to adjuſt matters ſo with him, that he ſhould never be able to make himſelf any more a *Spaniard*: She ſent to *Piedmont* the cardinal *d'Eſtrees*, a kinſman of the dutcheſs's, who governed all during her ſon's minority: He propoſed to marry the duke with the infanta of *Portugal*, his firſt couſin, and heir preſumptive of that crown, the prince regent having no other child. The dutcheſs of *Savoy*, who was born in *France*, and had a ſtrong affection for her country, was well pleaſed with the propoſition, judging that the royal character was well worth that of duke of *Savoy*; but there being a law in *Portugal*, which excluded from the crown an infanta

infanta that married with a foreigner, it was neceſſary firſt to have it abrogated.

The cardinal *d'Eſtrees* charged himſelf with procuring that to be done, in the name of his king, who to that end writ earneſtly about it to *Portugal*, who being accuſtomed to grant whatever he deſired, acted in this conjuncture as ſhe uſed to do; ſo that law was abrogated, and the * marriage of the duke of *Savoy* with the infanta of *Portugal* adjuſted.

But what made the repealing of that law the more wondered at, was, that the houſe of *Braganza* was beholden to it for her title to the crown of *Portugal*; from which crown the duke of *Parma*, who was the undoubted heir of the ducheſs of *Braganza*'s elder ſiſter, had been excluded, not forty years before, ſolely by this law's diſinheriting all the children of infanta's who were married to foreigners.

In the mean time the principal nobles of *Piedmont* and *Savoy*, without whoſe participation this buſineſs had been managed, being highly diſcontented, when they ſaw that by this marriage the *French* intended to take their prince from them, and to put them under a governor, held ſecret juntos to hinder the execution of it. I confeſs, I cannot tell whether the view of this union was directed to the publick good, or to their own private conveniencies; but let that be as it will, it is manifeſt, that this marriage with *Portugal* was ſo far from being of any advantage to the duke, that it would have been the utter ruin of him, and of all the princes of his houſe; for whilſt he was in *Portugal*, who would there have been to have ſuccoured *Savoy*, in caſe the *French* ſhould

* There was not a ſingle perſon in the *Cortez*, in his judgment, for repealing this law, or for the match with *Savoy*: however ſo great was the power of *French* piſtoles, and a *French* queen at that time in *Portugal*, that that law was abrogated, and a great ſum of money likewiſe given by that *Cortez* towards the defraying the charges of the marriage.

have fallen upon it with their right of conveniency? which right they now endeavoured to bring into credit, and to have it eſtabliſhed, together with that of dependency; for it was in fact evident, that they had taken the prince of *Monbeliard*'s ſtates from him, for no other reaſon, but becauſe they were commodious for their crown; and having never given any thing in exchange for what fell to them by this title, they went on ſtill gaining more lands. No body knew this better than the ducheſs of *Savoy*; but ſhe, it is thought was delighted with the idea of ruling alone; ſo that as *Alexander Farneſe*, duke of *Parma*, left his mother, becauſe he did not care to ſhare with her in the authority of the government of the *Low Countries*, ſo the ducheſs of *Savoy* conſented to ſend away her ſon, that ſhe might remain perpetual regent of his ſtates; for ſhe knew very well, that he would be detained in *Portugal*, to be bred up in the cuſtoms of that nation; and by that means ſhe hoped to ſecure to herſelf the ſupreme authority.

BUT, in the mean time, the diſcontents of the chief nobles increaſed, they met often together to reſolve upon what was moſt convenient for them to do: But they did not proceed in this with ſufficient ſecrecy, the ducheſs had notice of it; and ſhe, being ſollicitous to prevent all the diſturbances which the nobles might raiſe in the ſtate, cauſed a great body of troops to come from *France*, which were quartered near *Turin*, on pretence of ſecuring *Caſſel*: The nobles did not, for all this, change their deſign of aſſiſting the duke; and having diſcovered, as they gave out, that the duches was treating to deliver to the *French* the beſt places in *Piedmont*, for money which they were to lend her to defray the charges of her ſon's marriage, they reſolved to venture all, rather than ſuffer their own ruin; and having waited only for an opportunity to execute their deſign,

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the ducheſs furniſhed them with as good a one as they could have deſired: Having one day, contrary to her cuſtom, left the duke alone in *Turin*, and gone out of town a league or two to take the air, the nobles having got about him, repreſented to him, *That he was beſieged by the* French, *and was in a manner their priſoner; that his mother the ducheſs had already made a bargain with them for the beſt places, and the reſt would follow, if a ſtop were not preſently put to it; that ſhe ſent him to* Portugal, *not to reign there, as ſhe told him, but that ſhe might reign alone; that the condition that waited for him in* Portugal, *if it were not an abſolute captivity, was at leaſt, however it might be diſguiſed to him, an inevitable ſubjection to a ſuperior; whereas, if he would reſolve to ſtay with them, he would enjoy their obedience, and all that reſpect and affection which was due to him; that the* Portugueſe *hated ſtrangers, and had conſented but by force to let him have their infanta for his wife; ſo that he might be certain, if the prince regent ſhould die, that they would retract what they had done, and would take the crown from him, as they had taken it from the king of* Spain; *after that, they ſaid, they did not know what would become of him; for the* French *having made themſelves maſters of his ſtates, would never reſtore them to him.*

THIS repreſentation aſtoniſhed the duke; and tho' he was yet too young to diſtinguiſh truth from falſhood, he asked them, *what they would have him do to avoid all thoſe misfortunes?* They anſwered, *there was but one way, which was to cauſe his mother to be arreſted.* This ſtruck the duke; but not having allowed him time to attend to what nature would have dictated to him, they told him his ſafety was in his own hand, and that it was now in his choice whether he would be happy or miſerable all the days of his life: As to themſelves, they declared they would not be witneſſes of his ruin, they being reſolved to retire

retire into foreign countries, to have the comfort of appearing not to have been acceſſary to it. Here they let fall ſome tears, which ſo moved the duke, that he ſigned a warrant for the arreſting his mother; but before the nobles could bring their party together to execute it, the ducheſs was returned to the palace: She was amazed to find her ſon ſad, penſive, and ſilent; ſhe asked him what he ailed, and begged earneſtly to know what was the matter; when ſhe found prayers alone would not do, ſhe ſtrengthened them with the careſſes of a mother: He wept, ſhe took him in her arms, redoubled her endearments, and with them, and her tears, and all the melting expreſſions of a fond tenderneſs overcame him at laſt, ſo that he told her, that he had been deceived by the nobles, and perſuaded by them to ſign an order to have her arreſted. At firſt the ducheſs ſeemed to be ſtruck dumb, but ſhe quickly recovered herſelf, and knowing that there was no time to loſe, and that every moment was of the laſt importance to her, ſhe ſent for all her chief confidents, having firſt ordered the guards of the palace to be doubled, and all that had conſpired againſt her perſon to be apprehended, accuſing them of having had an intention to have carried the duke into *Spain*. I know not certainly whether the nobles had that in their thoughts, or whether it was only invented, and given out by the ducheſs, to make them odious to the people. In the end, the ducheſs, having ſo narrowly eſcaped this danger, ordered the *French* troops to enter the city, and to be quartered in it, diſcovering by this ſtep, that ſhe repoſed more confidence in them than the natives.

But notwithſtanding all this, there ſtill remained with the duke ſome impreſſions of what the nobles had told him; inſomuch that tho' his ſtable of horſes, and part of his family, were gone by land to *Portugal*, and he himſelf was ſhortly to have followed,

lowed, he talked no more of his voyage; and ſome who were about his perſon having ſecretly fomented the ſuſpicions the nobles had infuſed into him, he broke that match quite off, to the unſpeakable joy of * his ſubjects.

THE queen of *Portugal*, who for her own conveniency, and ſecurity, had ſet her heart on this match as much as her ſiſter of *Savoy*, was ſo ſtruck with this diſappointment, that ſhe ſcarce ever appeared afterwards, and as ſhe died not long after, it was ſaid, that ſhe had never afterwards enjoyed herſelf.

France was mortified at this diſappointment, for ſhe had promiſed herſelf the dutchy of *Savoy*, and had flattered herſelf with making it one of the beſt jewels in her crown; but ſhe ſtayed not long before ſhe ſhewed her reſentment. The count of *Soiſſons*, to

* And of the *Portugueſe* too; who, as they had never liked the match from the beginning, ſo they were overjoyed when they had the certain news of its being broke off. However, this match, though it came to nothing, (if the *French* king, who was to have been the great gainer by it, was not at all the charge) was a dear treaty both to *Savoy* and *Portugal*. That duke, beſide the expence he was at in *Rome* for a diſpenſation to marry his firſt couſin, and in ſending his ſervants and horſes over land to *Lisbon*, was at the charge of ſending and receiving the two moſt ſplendid embaſſies that had ever been ſeen before in the courts of *Turin* and *Lisbon*. He was alſo at the charge of furniſhing the *Portugueſe* armado, when it came to fetch him, with freſh proviſions for ſome weeks, and of making the duke *de Cadaval*, and the nobles who were with him, very rich preſents. But the expence of *Savoy* was nothing to that of *Portugal*, who beſides the extravagant entertainment and preſents which ſhe made to the *Savoy* ambaſſador, equip'd ſeven great men of war; the admiral of which fleet, and on which the duke was to have come, carried an hundred braſs guns, and had all her cabbins, ſtern, and ſides ſo richly gilded and painted, that ſome, who had ſeen the beſt ſhips in *England* and in *France*, ſaid they had never ſeen any thing like it before. The *Portugueſe*, who are always profuſe on ſuch occaſions, on this ſeemed to out-do themſelves; the nobles of both ſexes having laid out ſo much on rich cloaths, coaches, and liveries, that their eſtates and the merchants felt it a long time after.

to whom, in caſe the duke of *Savoy* had died without heirs, that dutchy would belong, after the prince of *Carenian*, his uncle, had in *France* fallen in love with an ordinary gentlewoman, of the name of *Beauvais*; till this time his kindred had oppoſed the intention he had to marry her, and the king himſelf had commanded him to find a wife that was his equal; but his majeſty having been offended, with the procedure of the nobles of *Piedmont*, to revenge himſelf on them, ſuffered that count to execute his blind deſign.

THIS paſſed in *Piedmont*; let us ſee now what occurred in *Germany*: The *French* had for a long time coveted the city of *Straſburgh*, and being convinced of its importance, by its having ſo often, during the laſt war, broke or diſconcerted their meaſures, they reſolved now to have it at any price; to get it by force, they knew would be difficult, becauſe that could not be done without declaring a war, in which caſe all the neighbouring princes would have engaged themſelves in its defence; they judged it therefore to be the ſureſt way to make uſe of art. The king of *France* had a reſident ſtill in that city; but who fulfilled the office of a ſpy, rather than that of a publick miniſter. That reſident had often writ to the king, that nothing was to be hoped, till the preſent burgo-maſters, were out of their office; but when the time came for a new election, that reſident bought ſo many votes and managed matters ſo, that thoſe perſons were choſe who were beſt affected to *France*. They were promiſed an hundred thouſand crowns apiece, to deliver up the city to the *French*; ſo to deſerve this reward, thoſe traytors to their country repreſented to the town council, *That they found the city involved in debt, by means of the great charge ſhe had been loaded with during the late war; that therefore now there was a peace, there was a neceſſity of leſſening the number of their garriſon; that the*

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king of France *who was the only prince they were afraid of, was turning all his force againſt* Italy; *that the main body of his troops having marched that way, they ſhould have time enough, before it would be poſſible to draw them back, to ſeek for ſuccour from their neighbours, who were too much intereſted in their preſervation, to deny it them; but ſuppoſing the worſt, they had no cauſe to fear any thing this winter, that king being at ſuch a diſtance from them, and the winter ſo far advanced, ſo that at preſent there was no appearance of danger; and that having by this reform ſaved a good deal of money, in the ſpring they might ſee what was moſt convenient to be done:* This inclination in the council to good husbandry, pleaſed the people, and though it was oppoſed by the ableſt patriots, they were forced to yield to the ſtream of the populace. Upon this a great part of the garriſon was disbanded, and, what was worſe, all the old ſoldiers diſcharged. As the king of *France* had with great anxiety expected the iſſue of this negotiation, ſo at the time it was agreed on, he left *Fontainbleau*, and cauſed his troops to defile with ſuch diligence, that *Straſburgh* was beſieged by them, when ſhe thought they had been in a corner of *France*. Some cannon were fired on both ſides, to remove all ſuſpicions of intelligence; but they were not enough to cover the treaſon from the citizens: and tho' it might have been too late to have remedied it, yet there did not want thoſe, who were for making a vigorous defence; but the ſcum of the city having been bribed by the reſident of *France*, and encouraged in it by the burgo-maſters, they went to the town-houſe, crying out, *they would have them capitulate, and not to ſuffer the city to be fired with bombs and hot bullets.* The burgo-maſters eaſily complyed with their inſtance, and having commanded a parley to be beat, they hung out a white flag, for a ſignal of their being diſpoſed to ſurrender themſelves, and which in the end

end they did. I do not at all blame the *French* for this, or any other action of the ſame kind, ſince they make no ſcruple to violate the moſt ſacred treaties; but what I condemn them for, is their pretending to give a colour of juſtice to their uſurpations; for when the emperor ſent the count of *Mansfield* to *France* to complain of this violation of the peace, they told him, *That they did not underſtand how the emperor came to meddle in a thing that did not at all concern him*, asking him, *if it was not lawful for the king to ſubdue one of his own cities that was in rebellion againſt him; for that* Strasburgh *being the metropolis of* Alſatia, *belonged to the king of* France, *in virtue of the treaty of* Munſter, *and that the reaſon why he had not made himſelf maſter of it before, was becauſe he had been diverted from it, by other dependencies of greater moment.* Upon this I would deſire the *French* to anſwer me theſe queſtions; if *Strasburgh* belonged to *France*, as they ſay it did by the treaty of *Munſter*, why had the king ever ſince a miniſter in it? Why, during all the late war, did he treat with it to maintain itſelf in a neutrality? And, in ſhort, why did he complain ſo often of that city's not having obſerved an exact neutrality? In truth, *France* has no anſwer to give to this, that is worth the ink that I have ſpent in writing it. I paſs to her other attempts. The ſurprizing of *Strasburgh* awakened all the princes of *Germany*, who before, like the king of *England*, had all been lulled faſt aſleep; every one talked of revenging this offence; but when it came to execution, there was not one that did not ſtart inſuperable difficulties; one wanted money to make levies; another did not care to venture his troops, which he kept up for other ends; another asked, whoſe the city ſhould be if it were re-taken; in fine, they were unanimous in nothing but in erring, and in preparing new chains for the publick liberty.

On the other ſide, *France* ſpent no time in unpro-

profitable diſcourſes; during the laſt war ſhe had held a correſpondence with *Tekeli*, by means of one *Bohan*, a native of the country of *Ardenes*, whom I knew a lieutenant of horſe in the troops of *France*; he afterwards ſerved the *Poles*, and having been diſbanded when the peace was made betwixt *Poland* and the *Turks*, he went to ſeek his fortune in the honourable party of *Tekeli*, in hopes of raiſing himſelf; for, beſides his being a man of parts, he had other talents, which with time he hoped would advance him to the higheſt poſt in the army. He had come to *France* three or four years before, and having made himſelf known to the miniſtry, they ſettled a correſpondence with him of great conſequence. When the time was come, the *French* miniſters called upon him to comply with his promiſe, and in that he gave them all the ſatisfaction they could deſire; *Tekeli*, at his inſtance, having promiſed to give a diverſion on the ſide of *Hungary*, to enable him to draw the *Turks* into that country, *Bohan* had furniſhed him with ſome money, and had given him hopes of a great deal more than he had promiſed. This negotiation was ſo open that none that had any information of what paſſed in the world, could be ignorant of it. The letters went from *France* to *Germany*, and from *Vienna* to *Bohan*, by way of the *French* envoy's ſecretary, and by *Bohan* they were tranſmitted to *Tekeli*. That ſecretary was in priſon a long time for it, and had not the king of *France* cauſed count *Mansfield*'s ſecretary to be impriſoned, it had coſt him his life; but that count having been told by monſieur *de Reinie*, that his ſecretary ſhould have the ſame treatment which the *French* ſecretary had at *Vienna*, he diſpatched a courier preſently to the emperor, to acquaint him with it, who, upon that, put a ſtop to the judicial proceedings which were going on againſt that ſecretary, chuſing to pardon the guilty rather than to give occaſion to de-

ſtroy an innocent perſon: However, to ſhew his reſentment of this injury, the emperor did not releaſe that priſoner, but at *Brizack*, to which place he was carried in chains in a cart, attended with a ſtrong guard, it is believed the king of *France* would have done the ſame to count *Mansfield*'s ſecretary, but whether it was from ſome inward remorſe, or an unwillingneſs to violate the rights of nations, in which I own he is ſomething punctual, that ſecretary was let out of the *Baſtile* without uſing repriſals; and not only ſo, but was permitted to remain in *Paris*.

THE great noiſe the ſurprizing of *Strasburgh* had made, having, as I have obſerved, vaniſhed preſently, *France*, whoſe appetite encreaſed whilſt ſhe had any thing to gnaw upon, began, in virtue of a right of dependency, which ſhe enlarged in proportion to her inſatiableneſs, to demand part of the country of *Liege*, even to the half of that city; and that being a province which confines on *Germany* and the low countries, and ſo very convenient for his deſigns upon thoſe ſtates, that he might meet with no oppoſition from the people of *Liege*, he had, during the late war, cauſed all its fortifications to be diſmantled. He kept *Dinant* ſtill, by virtue of an article of the peace of *Nimeguen*, and for which *Spain* had ſtipulated, either to procure for him, from the elector of *Cologne*, who was prince and biſhop of *Liege*, the property of that caſtle, and the ratification of it by the imperial diet, or elſe to deliver up to him *Charlemont*.

HIS catholick majeſty was not able to perſuade that elector to diſmember that caſtle from his ſtate; or, to ſpeak more properly, the king of *France* had underhand engaged him not to conſent to its being diſmembered, that he might have a pretence to give us diſturbance when he pleaſed; he had likewiſe taken care that the imperial diet ſhould not agree to it. Upon theſe obſtacles, *France* called on the *Spaniards*

niards continually, to have *Charlemont* delivered up to her, in conformity to that treaty: The duke *de Villa Harmoſa*, foreſeeing what would be the conſequence of it, made all poſſible delays; but, in the end, perceiving that the king of *France* threatened to invade *Flanders*, if it were not done, he put *Charlemont* into his hands, which is now unqueſtionably one of the ſtrongeſt places in his kingdom, and of which, after he was once maſter, he talked no more of reſtoring *Dinant*, but ſecretly intended with it to block up *Namur*, on the ſide of the *Maes*, ſo as to cut off from that city the whole benefit of that river when he pleaſed. For the *French* being once maſters of the whole country of *Liege*, I do not ſee how *Namur* can be ſuccoured otherwiſe than by land. The *Spaniards* complained of this treatment, but in vain; for *France* made no account of their complaints, but, on the contrary, blamed them for not having obſerved the treaty of *Nimeguen*, by having delayed to deliver to her *Aloſt*; which unjuſt pretenſion, until ſhe had got *Dinant*, had not been inſiſted on with ſo much fervour.

ALL the electors of the *Rhine* had likewiſe ſomething to do with *France* upon the right of dependencies, by which ſhe pretended to appropriate to herſelf all the places that were for her conveniency; and when they had let all go that ſhe deſired, or, to ſpeak more properly, when ſhe had taken all to herſelf, like fire, after having conſumed all that was near her, ſhe went farther for fuel; ſo after having ſeized on a vaſt country, the king of *France* aſpired to all the capital cities of the electors. He ſaid, and with an armed energy, that the ground on which the archbiſhop of *Treves*'s ſtables were built was his, with the whole country of *Ham*, where the beſt wines upon the *Rhine* grow: But his pretenſions upon *Cologne* and *Mentz* were not limited to ſo narrow a compaſs, for he publiſhed, that as both thoſe cities had

had been much enlarged, ſo all that had been built in them on one ſide for four or five ages, ſtood upon the land which had been yielded to him by the peace; and that he was reſolved either to demoliſh thoſe houſes, and reduce thoſe cities to their ancient limits, or oblige the owners of them, for the future, to depend on the crown of *France*.

NOTHING, according to the regular courſe of things, could have ſtopped the mouths of thoſe, who cried out, that the king of *France* aſpired to have his ſon choſe king of the *Romans*, ſo fully as this; the deſpoiling of the major part of thoſe who are the electors of that king, not being conſiſtent with that deſign; but it made them ſenſible at the ſame time, that *he was running with full ſpeed, to give a ſucceſſor to the empire by force*; and that this was the mark he aimed at by that procedure, the emperor, and the *Spaniards*, and all the other faithful allies ſaw but too plainly. But ſuch was the ill fortune of *Europe*, that whilſt they ſpent years in deliberating about trifles, *France* was ſubduing *Germany*, and preparing chains and fetters, of whoſe weight none were ſenſible but they that wore them; his own ancient ſubjects, and even thoſe among them who are daily ſacrificing their blood to facilitate his exaltation, not being better treated by him than others. And while with unheard of cruelty he was perſecuting the hugonots in his own dominions, and receiving panegyricks on eſtabliſhing the catholick church at *Utrecht*, and forty other places of his conqueſts, he * aſſiſted *Tekeli* in his rebellion in *Hungary* againſt the emperor; the motives of which were chiefly to maintain liberty of conſcience to thoſe who profeſſed the doctrines of *Luther* and *Calvin*: He helped thoſe hereticks to money, counſel, and commanders, in order to exterminate the true faith out of thoſe temples,

* See repreſentation of the Houſe of Commons to King *William* III. Gent. Mag. for *Octob.* 1744. p. 555.

ples, to which it had been reſtored, and in which it had been maintained, by the *Auſtrian* piety. He farther inſtigated the *Turks* to attack the empire, and deſtroy that church, of whoſe doctrines he endeavoured to be thought the promoter and defender.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe flagrant inſults, and continued infringements of the rights of all the neighbouring princes, no one but the prince of *Orange* had the courage to oppoſe him; for though that prince could do no more than the republick of *Holland* would permit him, yet having a ſoul much ſuperior to his fortune, he was continually repreſenting to ſome, "That it was much better for them "all to periſh, than to ſubject themſelves to ſo dan-"gerous a power;" and, to others, "the neceſ-"ſity there was of taking up arms againſt it;" he likewiſe greatly retrenched his own perſonal expences, that he might have money to ſupport the brave officers which had been disbanded by the ſtates upon the peace; ſo that they might not be driven by want to ſeek after ſervice in other countries, and that he might have them ſtill ready when he ſhould have occaſion for them.

France, who was not ignorant of that prince's being the moſt formidable enemy ſhe had, reſolved to beſtow upon him ſome particular demonſtrations of her reſentment, not to ſay of her injuſtice.

HIS principality of *Orange* is ſituated between the province of *Languedoc* and the country of *Avignon*, which had been poſſeſſed by him and his anceſtors ever ſince it came into their family, from the houſe of *Chalons*: But the king of *France*, who is for having no ſovereign but himſelf in *Europe*, ordered the city of *Orange* to be diſmantled, neither could the prince have any ſatisfaction, though he complained of it to the king. But this was not enough, he determined to ſtrip him entirely, and to that end ſet up the title of *Madam de Nemours*, who, by

virtue

virtue of ſome pretenſions, as ridiculous as chimerical, cited the prince before the grand council; and upon the prince's not having preſented himſelf before it, ſhe obtained a decree to be put in poſſeſſion of that principality.

No one can imagine on what this decree could be founded: If it was on a pretended ſubſtitution of the houſe of *Chalons*, to which the prince of *Orange*'s anceſtors had not yielded ſatisfaction, (beſides that the contrary may be eaſily proved) *Madam de Nemours*, though ſhe could have juſtified her right, came too late to do it; for by the laws of that kingdom, or at leaſt by thoſe that I have ſeen, in a tract of cutoms and uſes, thirty years poſſeſſion is ſufficient to the acquiring of a peaceable and inconteſtable right; whereas the prince of *Orange*, and his anceſtors, had been then above an hundred and fifty years in poſſeſſion of that principality. But that did not hinder *Madam de Nemours* from obtaining this decree, which was not long after revoked. In the mean time, the prince ſent monſieur *Heinſius* to *Paris*, to repreſent to the king the injuſtice that had been done him, and the States General charged their ambaſſadors to ſolicit that affair; but neither the one nor the other's diligence prevailed in the leaſt; and that envoy returned home without having obtained any thing. But let us paſs to other matters; all that has been ſaid hitherto being nothing when compared to what I have to ſay.

THE king of *Poland* had always been a friend to *France*, and that crown had boaſted of its having raiſed him to the throne: He was alſo complimented by *France* at ſeveral times with preſents, as marks of her friendſhip; had the order of the Holy Ghoſt ſent him; and, in fine, was the only prince in all *Europe* that ſhe ſpoke well of. Let us ſee now how they came to be at variance, and whoſe fault it was.

THE

THE money which had been ſent by *France* to *Tekeli*, had turned well to her account; the *Turks* by that means had been engaged to enter into a war with the emperor: *France* had timely and certain notice of that deſign, yet preferring her own intereſt to every thing elſe, ſhe made no ſcruple to ſolicit the king of *Poland* to invade the ſtates of the emperor on his ſide: And whereas the right of conveniency is the right that *France* beſt underſtands, and which right ſhe never denied to herſelf; ſo believing that it might be the ſame with the king of *Poland*, ſhe propoſed to him the conqueſt of *Sileſia*, where he would meet with no oppoſition, the *Turks* being to invade *Hungary* at the ſame time.

THE king of *Poland* did not think it agreeable either to his honour or intereſt to agree to this propoſition: On the contrary, he accepted of the alliance propoſed to him by the emperor, whereby they promiſed reciprocally to ſuccour one another againſt the *Turks*.

France no ſooner heard of this, than in an inſtant ſhe turned her friendſhip into an irreconcileable enmity, and ordered the marqueſs *de Vitry*, her ambaſſador in that court, who was a very crafty man, and capable of managing the deepeſt plots, by ſome means or other, to raiſe differences betwixt that king and his ſubjects.

Moraſton, the high treaſurer of *Poland*, who was a penſioner of *France*, and had fixed his eyes ſo on that kingdom, that he had bought an eſtate there, aſſiſted *Vitry* ſtrenuouſly in the carrying on of that infamous deſign. They quickly gained ſome of the diſcontented ſenators to their ſide, and to that degree, as to have the impudence to introduce ſpeeches of obliging the king, who had done the republick of *Poland* ſo much honour, to renounce his crown; and to hint that they had alſo a ſucceſſor in their eye; but a letter of *Moraſton*'s in cypher being intercepted, the

the king called *Moraſton* to him, and asked him in terms which did not conceal his juſt indignation, what he had writ in that letter? and ſeeing him doubtful and diſturbed, the common indication of a guilty conſcience, he asked him for the key of it, as the eaſieſt way of coming to the knowledge of the ſecret. *Moraſton* anſwered, his wife had it. The king then commanded her to be called. She came with great ſpeed; but when ſhe heard what the buſineſs was, ſhe ſaid ſhe had burnt the cypher: And they having both perſiſted in denying all to cover their wicked deſign, the moderation of the king was ſuch, that for the good of the republick rather than his own, he contented himſelf with commanding them to be detained, and to have guards ſet upon them, till he had ſuch proofs of their crimes as would ſatisfy the ſenate and the whole kingdom; and the ambaſſador of *France* being convicted by undeniable proofs, of having had the chief hand in that enormous plot, a certain ſenator, much devoted to the king and his country, in a full aſſembly of the diet, ſaid, *That for leſs cauſe the* Turks *had given two hundred drubs to an ambaſſador of* France *that reſided in* Conſtantinople; *and that he moved, that monſieur* de Vitry *ſhould have four hundred drubs given him.* But the king would not ſuffer that fervent ſpeech to go on, nor the motion to be regiſtered with the reſt of the votes of that day; contenting himſelf with having commanded it to be ſignified to *Vitry*, that he had exceeded the character of an ambaſſador, and acted againſt the law of nations: After this meſſage the miniſter ſtayed not long in *Poland*, and that he was not ſtoned when he withdrew, he owed to the heroick moderation of that great king, by whoſe example his ſubjects were influenced, to reſerve their courage to be employed againſt the declared enemies of her holy faith; but this ought not to hinder what happened at *Warſaw* from being a warning to all other

other courts where the king of *France* thinks fit to employ *Vitry*'s known talents.

HAVING omitted ſome of the circumſtances of the blockade of *Luxemburgh*, I ſhall add them here.

THE open conqueſt of *Straſburgh*, and the ſecret purchaſe of *Caſſel*, as I have ſaid, gave a terrible blow to the emperor, and the *Spaniards*; they *in vain apply'd to the neighbouring princes for the recovery of theſe two places, but ſome of them wanting forces, and others having been gained by *France*; the buſineſs, therefore, was remitted to the diet of *Frankfort*, where ſome months were ſpent in examining a ſingle paſſport, and four or five months in deciding whether they ſhould ſpeak in *Latin*, or in *Dutch*, or in *French*; ſo that inſtead of having any relief on that ſide, our wounds were made more incurable. The empire and *Spain* deſpairing of any good from the diet of *Ratisbon*, ordered their troops to march towards *Strasburgh* and *Caſſel*, both which places the *French* had begun to fortify, but which, at that time, were both open, the old fortifications having been taken down, and the new ones not finiſhed; but neither the emperor nor *Spain* found themſelves in a condition to engage in the enterprize; for the king of *France* being but newly eſtabliſhed in the conqueſt of thoſe two places, imagined that they did not make that motion with ſo great forces, but with ſome deſign; and apprehending, that they might have ſecret intelligence in thoſe cities, he ordered the blockade of *Luxemburgh* to be raiſed, that he might have troops ready to oppoſe them; and being willing to have that attributed to ſome other cauſe that was more plauſible, he called the marquis *de la Fuente*, ambaſſador of *Spain*, to him, and told him, *that being informed that the* Turks *were ready to invade* Hungary, *he had ordered*

* See Sir *William Temple*, Vol. I. p. 479.

his troops to withdraw from about Luxemburgh, *that the king of* Spain *might be at leiſure to ſuccour the emperor.* The embaſſador, though he knew the whole truth of that buſineſs, yet thank'd the king, as for a great favour; but, at the ſame time, did not neglect to acquaint the king his maſter with the true cauſe of this great and ſudden change; which, indeed, was no ſecret; and was an artifice too groſs to deceive any perſon of judgment; for if it was true, that their king had then ſuch good intentions, why did he afterwards give them the lye, by ſo many actions which were contrary to them? Why did he correſpond with *Tekely?* To what end did he ſet to many machines at work in *Poland?* Why did he enter into ſuch alliances with *Denmark* and *Brandenburgh?* Why ſo many ſolicitations and negotiations with princes, to bring them over to his ſide? In ſhort, why did he threaten the diet of the empire, if they did not grant him all his demands? I know very well the anſwer they will return to all this; they will deny what concerns *Tekeli*, and the king of *Poland:* And, as to the reſt, they will ſay, the king of *France* acted like a great ſtateſman, well inſtructed in the art of reigning; and that the making of alliances does not always ſerve to move war againſt their neighbours, but to keep their neighbours from making war upon them. I own that they may deceive the ignorant by denying the one, and by giving ſome colours to the other: But I would fain know what anſwer they can give to the queſtion I am going to put to them; why the king of *France*, who was pleaſed to raiſe the blockade of *Luxemburgh* a year before the *Turks* invaded *Hungary*, did, when it was actually invaded by them, order one army to march into *Alſatia*, to alarm the emperor; a ſecond army to march into *Flanders*, to oblige the *Spaniards* to look after their own ſtates; a third army to march upon the *Saar*, to terrify the electors;

and

and a fourth army to march up the *Soan*, to alarm all the reſt of *Europe*? Would he have us think, that he was more moderate upon the foreſight of the great evils which were ready to befal *Chriſtendom*, than he was when thoſe evils were actually come upon her? For it was when he ſaw *Chriſtendom* in that ſad and moſt deplorable ſtate, that he ſignified to the emperor, that if he did not, within a ſhort term, grant him all his unjuſt pretenſions, that he would come and do himſelf reaſon with his arms; and having joined deeds to his words, at that very time he preſented himſelf armed on the emperor's frontier, in readineſs to have ſeized divers provinces at once. It is true, he did not make war, but he did more miſchief than if he had, having hindered the princes, who fear him no leſs than they do the *Turk*, from diſpoſing of their troops in favour of the emperor, and forcing the emperor himſelf to employ his troops to guard the *Rhine*, till the infidels were entered into his territories, carried an hundred thouſand ſouls into ſlavery, burnt all the villages, and laid waſte all the country, and in the end had beſieged *Vienna*, the ſeat of his reſidence. I perceive I offend here againſt what I taught in another place, where I condemn the ſpending of time in paſſing a judgment on things, which are ſo clear in themſelves as to want no commentary or explication. I confeſs this is a leſſon as hard to be obſerved, as it is for one that is in love, to forbear talking of the perfections of the perſon he is in love with, though thoſe perfections are, at the ſametime viſible to the eyes of all men: I own this here, becauſe that great love which I have for truth, will not ſuffer me to be ſecure from relapſing into this fault. But let us proceed to examine, whether the king of *France* does not aſpire after univerſal monarchy; or rather prove, that he has already uſurped the rights and pre-eminences of other ſovereign princes,

princes, as if he were the ſupreme lord of the whole world; let us ſee the machines he has ſet at work in all the courts of *Europe*, not to reform the policy of princes, but to ſhew his own ambition. All know, how little he had to ſay to *Genoa*, and that wanting a pretext to break with her, he commanded her not to put any gallies to ſea, pretending they were to join with thoſe of *Spain*, and threatning her if ſhe did, to reſent it, as an act of hoſtility. He ordered the ſame to be told to the *Hollanders*, upon their having deſigned the laſt ſpring to have ſent ſome new ſhips to the king of *Sweden*; ſo that though he has nothing to do with either of thoſe two republicks, yet he treats them in the ſame manner, as if they were his ſubjects, and will not ſuffer a ſtate which purchaſed their liberty at the expence of their blood, to make alliances, and ſuccour their allies; tho' it is lawful for him who entitles himſelf the moſt chriſtian, and the eldeſt ſon of the church, at the ſame time to confederate himſelf with the mortal enemy of all chriſtians.

LET us ſee now how he treats thoſe that have left him, and thoſe who follow him blindly. What has he not ſaid of the duke of *Bavaria*, for having abandoned his intereſts, and with an exemplary generoſity, embraced thoſe of the emperor? What the king of *Poland* writ to his queen, when he acquainted her with the victory of *Vienna* proves this ſufficiently. What has he not done in *Liege* to foment and maintain the diſobedience of the people againſt their prince, to prevent his making that city a barrier to hinder *France* from invading the eſtates of others? And what has he not done in *Cologne* to ſet the citizens together by the ears, and who, when they had an enemy at their gates, were fighting, and cutting one anothers throats? What has he not done in *Hamburgh* and *Lubeck*, where the natives are in a conſpiracy againſt their own liberties, and againſt

that

that of their country? What revolutions has he made in the courts of the princes of *Lunenburgh*, in which the *French* exiles have the chief hand, but who are baniſhed their country, ſo that they can return to it, when they pleaſe to acquaint the miniſters with their ſecret managements? In fine, what does he not do, in the emperor's own court, where having raiſed jealouſies among the chief miniſters, with the key of his bribes, he penetrates into the moſt important ſecret; ſo that ſeldom any reſolution is taken there, that is not imparted to him? I know there are ſome, who will ſay that I deliver all this only upon conjecture; but after they have heard what I have further to offer, I will allow ſuch to believe what they pleaſe.

After the rout which was given to the marſhal *Crequi* near *Treves*, *France* was laid open, and had no troops to oppoſe the victors, who, if they had pleaſed, might have propagated the terror of their arms a great way into that kingdom. The *French* apprehended that they would have done it, and thoſe that were neareſt to the danger, had removed all their goods into garriſoned places, but at the ſame time monſieur *de Louvois* told a certain perſon, by whom I was told it again, that the enemy would do no more that campaign, but would preſently retire. I would here ask, whether it was the poſture affairs were in at that time, that could make that probable, or whether ſome intelligence out of the ordinary courſe, or a revelation, was not neceſſary to the belief and affirmation of a thing, ſo contrary to what every body elſe believed?

But as an ancient writer ſays, to what will not the covetouſneſs of riches yield? For theſe were the means, whereby the *Switzers* ſuffered *France* to put the fortreſs of *Hunningen*, as a bridle into their mouths; and which tempted them to ſell their liberty, and their country; inſomuch that a certain counſellor,

counſellor, who in an aſſembly of the *Cantons* repreſented to them the neceſſity there was of oppoſing a power in time, whoſe ambition gaped ſo wide after the dominion of all *Europe*, was by the *French* penſioners obliged to hold his peace, and to go over to thoſe who were in greateſt credit in that republick; and thoſe people, without the leaſt oppoſition, ſuffered *France* to make herſelf miſtreſs of the county of *Burgundy*, from whence they might have received ready ſuccours from their neighbours.

I SPEAK not of things which happened in the laſt war, becauſe they are old and may appear trivial; neither can any body be ignorant of the *French* having, with their key of gold, opened the gates of many ſtrong places, nor of the many enterpriſes which have been diſconcerted by their bribes, nor of what it was that retarded the ſiege of *Philipsburgh*; and indeed, I muſt enlarge beyond meaſure, if I ſhould undertake to reckon, on how many occaſions their money has been of advantage to them, and prejudicial to us, and others.

HOWEVER, an affair happened laſt year in *Denmark*, which I cannot forbear to relate, and by it we may underſtand that *France* is not eaſily prodigal of her money.

THE *Dane*, as I have ſaid, had made himſelf a tributary to *France*, or to ſpeak more properly, he received a penſion from her, not to do any thing which ſhe would not have him do; M. *Colebert*, who adminiſtered the revenues of *France*, being willing to try whether the king of *Denmark* might not be brought to ſubmit to his penſion being retrenched, ordered his brother monſieur *Colebert de Croiſy*, who had the charge of all foreign affairs, to write concerning that matter to the *French* embaſſador in *Denmark*; who having received that order, at an audience he had of the king, communicated it to him.

THE king being much ſurprized, told the embaſſador,

ſador, *that he had no anſwer to give him, but that he would give one to his maſter by his envoy at* Paris. He commanded his envoy, in brisk terms to repreſent to the king of *France*, the reſentment that the inſinuation which had been made to him, had raiſed in him; the king anſwered, *he did not underſtand what he meant, his embaſſador having ſpoke that without his order, neither was it ever in his thoughts to leſſen, or add any thing to the treaty he had made with his maſter; and that his embaſſador, to teach him to follow his own caprice, ſhould be recalled*; and thus the poor embaſſador was ſacrificed to preſerve the amity of the king of *Denmark*.

WHAT remains now to be examined is, why *France* being ſo powerful, and ſeeing ſo many diviſions among her neighbours, forbore to begin a new war.

IT is the conſtant opinion of thoſe who have dived deepeſt into this matter, that *France* grounded her hopes chiefly on her ſecret alliance with the *Turks*, and that the effects of that alliance having depended on the diſpoſition of ſo vaſt an empire, they could not poſſibly keep pace with the deſires, and haſte *France* was in; beſides, the truce betwixt the emperor and *France* did not expire before the year 1683; and *France* was willing to let that truce expire, before ſhe enterprized any thing againſt *Germany*: Neither was *France* certain whether the *Turks*, who are not very punctual in keeping their word, but when it is for their intereſt to do it, would declare war againſt the empire, or accept of the advantageous conditions of peace which the emperor had offered them. The king of *France*, at that time, had likewiſe many places to fortify, whoſe works his regular policy would not let remain unfiniſhed, until he had engaged himſelf in a new war; neither had he hitherto loſt any favourable opportunity; ſo that he could not, without being guilty of great imprudence,

dence, have begun the war ſooner than he did. The thing that made it manifeſt, that the *Turks* and *French* were to take the field at the ſame time, was, that the king of *France* no ſooner heard of the *Ottoman* army's being entered into *Hungary*, than he departed from *Verſailles*, and put himſelf at the head of his troops; and having, at the ſame time, commanded an army which was upon the *Soan*, to march to the frontiers, with an intention to have laid ſiege to *Cologne* or *Philipsburgh*, of a ſudden they changed their minds; for that king had intelligence, that the *Hungarians* had abandoned the paſs of the river *Raab*, and that the *Turks*, inſtead of beſieging that fortreſs, or that of *Comorra*, as they had pretended they would, were advanced with innumerable forces to *Vienna*, with a reſolution to lay ſiege to that city; and tho' he was very willing to have the *Turks* make a diverſion, he was not for their rendering themſelves maſters of the empire, which he looked on as his own patrimony: He thought the *Turks* would have beſieged *Raab* and *Comorra*, and that thoſe two places, being very ſtrong both by art and nature, would have coſt them much time and labour to have taken them, and in the mean time he intended to have done all that he had to do, with the electors, and to have compelled them, while thus encompaſſed with enemies, to have granted all he deſired, intending after that to have incorporated his armies with thoſe of the empire, and ſo to have marched againſt the *Turk*, to oblige them either to fight or retire; which was a deſign worthy of a grand monarch, tho' it might have too much of ambition in it; but when he underſtood that the *Turks* had laid ſiege to *Vienna*, he was obliged to take other meaſures; knowing that it could be of no advantage to him to invade the empire, which another was ready to conquer by taking a ſingle city: He might indeed on his ſide

have

have filled the empire with terror and ruin, but he could not have eſtabliſhed himſelf in it: He therefore rather choſe to obſerve at a diſtance what would be the iſſue of the ſiege of *Vienna*; but, in the mean time, he ſet all his engines to work, and they inceſſantly laboured to repreſent every thing to the princes of *Germany* which could contribute to the diſcrediting of the emperor with them, painting him very differently from what he was, who with his great talents and heroic virtues was ſuperior to any, the moſt artificial emulation could ſet up againſt him. Notwithſtanding that, the *French* tools cried out, *The empire tottered under his direction, and wanted a brave prince, who, to a thouſand other good qualities, had joined that of knowing how to govern an army in perſon: that if the* Turks *took* Vienna, *as it was much to be feared they would, that misfortune would threaten the whole empire: the only way therefore to avoid it, was to call a king to their aſſiſtance, who, if they would chuſe his ſon the dauphin for king of the* Romans, *which he had long ſolicited, they would immediately ſee the affairs of the empire put on a new face, that king's troops being in their neighbourhood, in readineſs to ſuccour them; in ſhort, that he would make the empire flouriſh in the ſame degree of proſperity as in former times, under the greateſt emperors.*

But the univerſal hatred which the *Germans* had for the *French*, made them reſolve to try any other expedient rather than call them to their aſſiſtance. All the endeavours therefore of *France* having proved abortive, that king, perceiving that he did but loſe time, determined, till a favourable occaſion ſhould offer itſelf, to take another courſe which ſhould be more for his profit: For having ſtill kept his pretenſions upon *Aloſt* alive, he commanded his troops back to *Flanders*; and having named the general officers, which he never does but on the veſpers of a war, he prepared to invade the low countries; but

when he was ready to execute that deſign, his queen, who was one of the moſt virtuous princeſſes in the world, died, after only three days ſickneſs.

THE opportunity which the jealouſies and diviſions of the *Germans* afforded, all procured and managed by *French* policy, made that court deaf to the danger *Vienna* was in, though it increaſed daily, while all *Europe*, and even the wiſeſt of his moſt chriſtian majeſty's ſubjects, looked on this procedure with horror, as it preferred the pretenſion of an equivalent for four cottages to the ſafety of chriſtendom; tho', to ſpeak the truth, there were but few that did not ſee that *France*, under that trivial pretext, only ſought to palliate her deſign on an univerſal conqueſt. And ſince the firſt care of one that writes concerning ſuch affairs as theſe, muſt be, not to mince matters, but call things by their proper names, I, who do not pretend to forgetfulneſs, cannot forbear to publiſh the ſtrong averſion *France* diſcovered to the ſending of any ſuccours to put a ſtop to the violent progreſs of the *Ottoman* arms in *Auſtria*: *France* at that time did not only forbid her own ſubjects, under the ſevereſt penalties, to ſerve the emperor in his armies, but alſo prohibited the performance of any publick devotions for the proſperity of the emperor's arms in that holy war; which was a thing one could not have believed of a nation which formerly had been ſo zealous in defending the honour of God, and his altars, had it not been made ſo manifeſt by the biſhop of *Arras*'s having for that pious end, ſet forth a mandate, or paſtoral letter, expreſſed with an energy ſufficient to have made an impreſſion on impiety itſelf. Almoſt all the other biſhops, under the *French* juriſdiction, as well within the ancient dependencies of that crown, as within its conqueſts, were diſpoſed to uſe the ſame diligence; but the intendant of the province of *Artois*, when he heard of that biſhop's mandate, adviſed

him

him, *to conſider what he did, and whether the king might not take it in ill part:* But the prelate, with the ſpirit and reſolution of St. *Ambroſe*, anſwered the intendant, *That he had complied with his obligations; and that, in the ſpirituals of his biſhoprick, he did not underſtand royal orders:* Which anſwer having been ſent to the king by the intendant, a prohibition was preſently iſſued from court, forbidding thoſe devotions; and the biſhop was diſgraced for having commanded them.

THE ſame was done to the biſhop of *Cambray*; neither could his being by his dignity a prince of the empire, againſt which the infidels were fighting, protect him from receiving the ſame mortification.

THIS, as well as the other vexations which ſome *French* biſhops have of late years ſuffered, contrary to the eccleſiaſtical immunity, made all good catholicks in *France*, and in all other nations attribute this procedure to an intention in the king to ingratiate himſelf with the grand vizir; and eſpecially after having obſerved the ſympathetical and agreeing conformity, which from the beginning of the campaign had been betwixt the armies of *France* and thoſe of the *Turk* in all their motions, *Kara Muſtapha* having ſcarce made his firſt ſtep with his formidable army, to invade the *Auſtrian* ſtates, when *France* was with her armies, forming one encampment on the *Sare*, another upon the *Soan*, and by the terrible blow that ſhe was ready to have given upon the *Rhine*, diverted the forces of the princes of *Germany*, which were prepared, and were the neareſt at hand to have ſuccoured the emperor. And as all the world knows this to be true, ſo it was told them by don *Pedro Ronquillo*, ambaſſador of the catholick king to the king of *Great Britain*, in a letter dated the 26th of *November* the laſt year, which was wrote by him to *Jenkins* the ſecretary of ſtate; and that, on the 29th of *Auguſt*, which he believed was the laſt day of the

ſiege

ſiege of *Vienna*, the *French* invaded the low countries: The circumſtances of which invaſion are ſo capricious, extravagant, and inhumane, that I cannot but take ſome notice of them, though I ſhall leave the particulars of the impious, ſacrilegious, and inhumane cruelties which were exerciſed by the *French* in thoſe parts, in competition with the *Tartars* and the *Turks*, to a juſt hiſtory.

THAT great body of troops was commanded by the marſhal *de Humiers*, who, when he firſt entered the low countries, diſpatched the brigadier *Hansfield*, with an open letter, to do the office of a king at arms, to the marqueſs *de Grana*, governor and captain general of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, intimating to him, *That he had an order from the moſt chriſtian king, to quarter his ſoldiers in* Aloſt, *and in all the other places to which he pretended a right; but that he was not to do any thing contrary to the peace, nor to commit any hoſtilities, if his moſt chriſtian majeſty's orders were not oppoſed, and all that he demanded were yielded to him.* To this the marqueſs anſwered, *That he was extremely ſurpriſed at ſuch an important meſſage, at a time when he imagined all things to have been in a profound peace, and by thoſe treaties, which had been reciprocally ſworn, it was provided, that all differences which might ariſe concerning it, ſhould be amicably compoſed; that in the ſtate* Chriſtendom *was in at preſent, none could have diſturbed its peace in ſo ſtrange a manner; that his catholick majeſty had his ambaſſador at* Paris, *and the moſt chriſtian king his in* Madrid, *where affairs of this importance are to be treated; in ſhort, that his catholick majeſty had entruſted him with thoſe provinces to defend, but not to diſmember them, or give any part of them away.*

THE brigadier returned with this anſwer; but the cruel die being already thrown upon thoſe innocent people, forty thouſand men, under the command of the marſhal *Humiers*, the counts of *Mombrun* and

Montal

Montal, and the marqueſs *de Boufflers*, in ſo many bodies, and they penetrating into ſeveral parts, committed the ſame outrages as the invaders of *Auſtria*, burnings only excepted. But, that no body may be deceived by this exception, you are to know, that, to ſupply the want of fire, they marched furniſhed with a great number of carpenters and maſons, who without it laid divers caſtles, and all other edifices, level with the ground, as if they thought their not having made uſe of that devouring element was any mitigation of their violences. And, notwithſtanding, they at the ſame time ſeized on ſeveral towns and caſtles, and turned out his catholick majeſty's garriſons, they impoſed taxes and contributions on the very places which they had ſacked; and having apprehended the judges, and all the other officers of juſtice, they carried away all the cattle, the moveables, and the granaries of particular perſons, to the magazines which they had in their garriſons. And, that they might deſtroy all, they forbade the tilling of the land, an invention no tyrant had ever thought of before; nay, they even carry'd away with them all the inſtruments of husbandry belonging to the natives. In a word, the reins were let looſe to the cruelty, avarice, and laſciviouſneſs of their ſoldiers, and that without confining their diſorders within the bounds of the propoſed occupation of *Aloſt*, and ſome other places to which they pretended a right. All the provinces of the circle of *Burgundy*, the duchies of *Limburg* and *Guelders* not excepted, were plundered by them; nor were even the abbies, monaſteries, and other places dedicated to the worſhip of God; and all this was done with an inhumanity which had been well weighed by *Lewis de Neueforge*, his catholick majeſty's deputy in the diet of *Ratisbon*, when in the congreſs on the 18th of *Oct.* he ſaid, *That in all the time of the laſt hot war, ſo great and ſo fatal a deſolation had not been ſeen. The contributions*

and

and rapines executed in all parts by the French, *with the violence of arms, having amounted to many millions.*

To read this, though it is only touched upon here, till a full and diſtinct relation of all theſe barbarities ſhall be publiſhed, muſt move compaſſion in the hardeſt heart, ſeeing ſome of the very executioners of thoſe barbarities left a ſervice which obliged them to diveſt their natures of humanity.

Now, who could have imagined that the court of *France* ſhould have reckoned all the other courts of *Europe* ſo eaſy, that ſhe ſhould be able to perſuade them, that by all theſe invaſions, plunderings, and cruelties, ſhe had not violated the peace? Or that ſhe ſhould have thought, that it was poſſible to bring thoſe kingdoms and ſtates, which were to be the greateſt ſufferers by their conqueſt of the low countries, to ſit and look on all that they had done in them with the ſame inſenſibility and unconcernedneſs, as they would look on the theatrical repreſentations of the burnings of *Troy*?

But what was truly ſurprizing, was, that the *French* not only pretended to impoſe this on the court of *London*, but actually ſucceeded in it, and were believed; though from that court, *Spain*, founding her hopes on the faith of treaties, on the known intereſt of the crown of *England*, on the laws of good neighbourhood, and on the maxims of the firmeſt policy, might have expected the readieſt and the moſt effectual remedy.

The armed ingreſs of the *French* into the low countries being now executed, and their violence glutted with the blood and goods of thoſe ſubjects of *Spain*, the memorable and wonderful relief of the city of *Vienna* happened, with the deſtruction and ruin of the greateſt part of its beſiegers. This news rejoiced all chriſtendom, the court of *France* only excepted; the countenances of whoſe directors, if not their habits, wore mourning for the infidels who

who had been ſlain there, knowing that that loſs would, in all probability, be attended by the fall of the *Hungarian* rebels, who had been ſo publickly ſupported with counſel, money, and men from *France*; and which, beſides other evidences of it, was proved in the court of *Poland* by the baron *de Zarowſti*, the imperial reſident. For ſo far was *France* from ſhewing any of thoſe demonſtrations of joy wherewith all chriſtendom beſides celebrated that important victory, that they did all that was poſſible to retard the intelligence that was ſent of it to the court of *Spain*, which was ſo nearly concerned in it, on the account both of the publick, and of their own moſt auguſt houſe. *France*, on a frivolous pretext, detained the captain of horſe eight days, who was diſpatched with that news to the marqueſs de *Grana*; and the courier which brought the news from the emperor himſelf, was ſtopped by them ſome weeks. God knows, I take no pleaſure in publiſhing ſuch uncivil practices, as are not uſed by any in a time of peace. But how can ſuch ſteps eſcape me, which have been examined and noted ſo publickly? Thoſe great ſums have been, as it were, weighed before my eyes, which were expended by the moſt chriſtian king, to kindle a new war betwixt *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and other parts of the North, as well as in *Germany*, from whence the good emperor might otherwiſe have expected ſuccours; and which was done at the time when the pope's repeated breves, wrote with ink mingled with his ſacred tears, came to his hands, exhorting him to furniſh ſomething towards the immenſe charge to which chriſtendom was put, by the great army of the infidels, the greateſt that the oriental tyrant had ever drawn together, or ever ſent beyond his own borders. He that has read thus far, may very well imagine, that nothing more can be ſaid of the enormous procedure of *France*, and yet the worſt is ſtill behind.

THE almoſt general oppreſſion of the open places in the low countries laſted all the month of *September*, and part of *October*, the enemy being deaf to the ſighs of ſo many innocent people, as well as to the reaſons which the miniſters in *Bruſſels* had cauſed to be repreſented to the generals of *France* in their uſurped quarters, and to the king himſelf at *Paris*; and all the pacifick meaſures for the relief of the oppreſſed people having proved ineffectual, the marqueſs *de Grana*, having firſt conſulted the catholick court upon ſo difficult an affair, reſolved to ſend his circular orders and manifeſto to the governors of the provinces and garriſons, to the officers and ſoldiers, and to all under his charge.

THIS declaration of the marqueſs *de Grana*'s produced all the effects which an inferiority of force is capable of working. It likewiſe helped to remove the aſtoniſhment with which the neighbouring potentates had looked on ſuch a ſloth amidſt ſuch great oppreſſions, and the threats of greater; and eſpecially the *Hollanders*, who were wounded to the heart in the beginning, by the breach that had been made in *Aloſt*, on that barrier which the unhappy peace of *Nimeguen* had ſettled betwixt them and *France*, and who therefore rejoiced to ſee the *Spaniards* in earneſt, and in a preſent diſpoſition to ſeek to have it repaired.

THE *French*, who have their numerous and watchful ſpies in all countries, who ſerve their maſters with a wonderful fidelity, had obſerved that the United Provinces haſtened to fulfil their defenſive league with the *Spaniſh* low countries; and that if any more inſults were offered, they would be compelled to go farther; the moſt chriſtian king therefore finding himſelf vehemently urged by the pope's breves to give peace to chriſtendom, and being alſo willing to make ſome ſhew of a diſpoſition to comply with his holineſs, he ordered the count *de Avaux*, his ambaſſador

embaſſador extraordinary in the *Hague*, to give in a paper to the ſtates on the 5th of *November*, which he was to ſecond by word of mouth, to perſuade them of the great moderation of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, in contenting himſelf with any one of the five means which were propoſed to him for an adjuſtment with *Spain*.

But it was not eaſy to put this trick upon the miniſters of that powerful republick, who had been ſo often warned of the cant of ſuch *Syrens*; ſo thoſe propoſitions were only looked on as the expreſſions of one in a burning fever, whoſe thirſt nothing can ſatisfy, and who, though he has promiſed, that if they will but give him one large cup of water, he will be contented; yet has no ſooner drank it, than he calls for another that is ſtill bigger. The miniſters of *Holland* thought fit, therefore, to communicate this paper to thoſe of *Bruſſels*, and by them thoſe diſcreet remarks were made upon it, which were afterwards publiſhed in ſeveral languages, with a particular liſt of all the towns, caſtles, villages, and open countries, which had been openly uſurped by the *French* in the provinces of *Luxemburgh*, *Flanders*, *Hanault*, and *Namur*, ſince the ſuſpenſion of arms, and the publication of the peace of *Nimeguen*. But tho' I ſhall excuſe myſelf from enlarging upon theſe matters, yet I cannot but allow that this paper of the count *d'Avaux* came upon the ſtage with the accuſtomed mask, *of the intention which his king has and always had, of eſtabliſhing a firm peace, as well with the emperor, as with* Spain, *on terms convenient to the juſtice of his pretenſions, the ſecurity of his ſubjects, and the tranquillity of all* Europe; a prologue adorned with ſuch appearances, that did wiſe men govern themſelves only by the outſides of things, they would think they were invited by it to come and ſee the temple of *Janus* ſhut; but after a few lines reading, on the contrary, they found under

this grimace, five different means to keep countries open, ſome very ſhort intervals only, as we have ſeen of late years, excepted, until the boundleſs circle, drawn by *France* ſince the time of *Henry* IV.'s having inherited her crown, ſhall be filled; and whoſe example and maxims have been with a fatal ſteadineſs propoſed to his grandſon, by the directors of his education.

THE pretended rights of *France* to *Aloſt* and its caſtellany, to the old city of *Gaunt*, to the county of *Chimay*, to the greateſt part of the county of *Luxemburgh*, and to other lands, have been examined; and it has been ſhewed how *France*, contrary to the laws both of God and man, took poſſeſſion of them, and all the places contained in the liſt which his catholick majeſty's miniſters had joined to their remarks upon the memorial of the count *d'Avaux*: Wherefore, ſince my genius does not lead me to fill up my writings with thoſe of others, I ſhall not here inſert that long liſt, but will take a ſhorter way: And having firſt ſet down the five bare equvialents, with any one of which the embaſſador of *France* ſaid his moſt chriſtian majeſty would be content, in lieu of what he pretended to belong to him; I will afterwards ſhew to thoſe who may not be ſo well informed in the matters of the dependencies, the ſhameleſſneſs of all thoſe propoſitions.

THE *firſt* equivalent propoſed by *France* was the city of *Luxemburgh*, as it is, or diſmantled, with the few villages and houſes which remained under its juriſdiction, ſince the reſt were ſeized on by *France*.

THE *ſecond* was the towns of *Dixmude* and *Courtray*, with their dependencies, except the town of *Deinſe*, and its dependencies, which ſhall remain to *Spain*; and the fortifications of *Dixmude* and *Courtray* may be demoliſhed, and alſo the citadal of the laſt; and beſides theſe, the villages and caſtellany of *Aeth*, which were formerly united to the Government

ment of *Courtray*, and alſo *Beaumont* and *Bovines*, with the villages and places of their dependencies, which were reduced to four or five, ſince the reſt were ſubjected to the obedience of the moſt chriſtian king, by the poſſeſſion which had been taken of them in his name, before the blockade of *Luxemburgh* was raiſed; and finally *Chimay*, with its dependencies.

Thirdly, that if the catholick king had rather give to the moſt chriſtian, the ſaid equivalent, in *Catalonia*, or in *Navarre*; he would be ſatisfied with the countries of *Cerdana*, *Camredon*, and *Caſtelfolit*, with their dependencies.

Fourthly, with *Roſes*, *Girona*, *Cap de Quiers*, with their dependencies.

Fifthly, and in *Navarre*, with *Pampalona*, *Fontarabia*, and their dependencies.

Now conſidering every one of theſe equivalents, which are as worthy of that name, as nothing is of a ſubſtantial being; they muſt appear to every reader, very nearly to reſemble thoſe made by the ſultan when ſurrounded by an innumerable army ready to invade the empire. The ſultan required of the emperor, if he would exempt himſelf from the war, *to deliver and yield up to him all that he poſſeſſed in* Hungary, *with all its dependences, and particularly the fortreſſes of* Raab *and* Komorra, *the known keys of his patrimonial eſtates, as well as of the empire, and to diſmantle all the garriſons on his frontiers, which might detain his arms, when he ſhould be pleaſed to make a farther progreſs, beſides an immenſe quantity of money, for the expences he had been at in calling, liſting, and marching his great forces both in* Aſia, *and in* Europe: The firſt part of this compariſon, will juſtify itſelf to any one that will but be at the expence of half a quarter of an hour, to look on the map of the provinces and kingdoms to whoſe extermination

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thoſe arbitriments of this moſt violent and artificial iniquity were directed.

WITH what earneſtneſs and obſtinacy has the king of *France* laboured to obtain *Luxemburgh*, while under the ſpecious name of a peace he committed all the hoſtilities of the hotteſt war, uſurped almoſt all that country, and blocked up its capital city! and who does not know, that not being content with *Briſack*, the gate of the empire, which was ſo blindly left to the *French* by the peace of *Weſtphalia*, under whoſe ſhadow they have made themſelves independent lords of *Alſace*, and the upper *Rhine*, he does not only aſpire, but is opening his way to do as much for the lower *Rhine*, that he may take *Cologne*, as he has done *Strasburgh*, with equal titles, and equally oppoſite to the conſtitutions of the empire, and the *Germanick* liberty? and who does not ſee, that by this peace the giant deſigneth to ſet his foot on the throats of three eccleſiaſtical electors, and of the palatine? yet in the mean time he bribes and flatters *Brandenburgh*, and lulls *Saxony* and *Bavaria* aſleep; but, how much ſoever ſhe may diſſemble it, *France* is certainly very angry with the laſt, for having retired ſo dextrouſly from under the engagements in which ſhe had hampered his predeceſſor, ſo contrary to the true intereſt of his houſe; neither has her having married the dauphin to that elector's ſiſter, been able to gain him to her; after having been warned, how much his kinſman the elector palatine paid for the honour, as they call it, (tho' the palatine blood does not yield to the beſt in *Europe*,) of the duke of *Orleans* having married his daughter; *France* having ſoon after that was done, in true friendſhip, and in the pure confidence of kindred, taken one part of his eſtate from him, and laid the other deſolate. I do not hear, that that elector was willing to have had his forces diverted by the *French* from ſuccouring the emperor, nor is

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it to be imagined, that he, or any of the electors, ſhould voluntarily ſurrender themſelves, to one who labours ſo openly to make the imperial dignity hereditary in his houſe, and to extinguiſh the election, upon the ridiculous pretence of his being ſucceſſor to *Charles the Great*, which title, if it could ſignify any thing, would be of advantage to the houſes of *Auſtria* or of *Lorain*, rather than to the *Capetine* line; which has no manner of relation to it, notwithſtanding the flattery of the modern *French* writers, who have tired themſelves in proving, that all the three lines, which have reigned in *France* from the beginning of its monarchy, have derived their original from that of the *Merovigian*.

Let the ſame attention be applied to find, where the barrier adjuſted by the peace of *Nimeguen* would be, if either of the propoſitions touching the low countries, were granted to the *French*, and whether thoſe relating to *Catalonia*, and *Navarre*, ought to be yielded, but in the extremity of a laſt deſpair. Were not her enemies blinded by barbarous ambition, the laſt years ſucceſſes in *Auſtria* and *Hungary*, beſides innumerable others which have happened at other times, would ſuffice to teach them, how little the moſt overgrown human power, is able to do againſt the decrees of heaven.

To return to the thread of facts; reaſon had availed nothing to the putting a ſtop to the courſe of a moſt cruel war; and no time allowed for an anſwer to the memorial which had been given in by the count *d'Avaux*, to the States General; ſo that had there been a diſpoſition, to have granted one of thoſe five propoſitions, relating the chimerical equivalent, it would not have been poſſible, as is manifeſt from the quality of them all, to have pitched on, and adjuſted any one of them, before the places were all loſt which *France* had reſolved to attack; for at the very ſame time that thoſe propoſitions were made

made to the States, by the *French* embaſſador, the marſhal *de Humiers* was on his march to ſeize on thoſe places; neither did the embaſſador's paper diſſemble its being ſo. The city of *Courtray* and its citadel, were firſt taken by that marſhal, and that of *Dixmude* preſently after; on which occaſion as they that are living have great cauſe to lament, ſo future ages will have no leſs cauſe to wonder at it; thoſe excepted who follow the ſect of the ſcepticks, whoſe opinion was that our ſenſes may deceive us ſo, that it is poſſible, nay probable, that black may be white, and white black; for is it not equally abſurd not only to call acts of invaſion and the impoſition of contributions on the eſtates of a neighbour, with all the other diſorders which conſtantly accompany thoſe violences, a peace; but to give the ſame name alſo, to the beſieging, attacking, and battering of garriſons, with all the formalities, and ſtiles of war? However the States General, in the caſe of this violent and ruinous motion were not ſcepticks; not but that there were ſome of the profeſſors of that doctrine among them, who to credit their ſect, moved, *to have the ſuſpenſion continued longer; that they might deliberate and reſolve on aſſiſting to quench the fire that was in their neighbours houſes, before it ſpread itſelf to theirs*; but notwithſtanding that, and all the ſophiſtries, wherewith the *French* endeavoured to palliate their violences, the States furniſhed the troops agreed on in their defenſive league with *Spain*, with which, (*Courtray* and *Dixmude* being already loſt) the reſt of the garriſons of the *Barrier* were reinforced.

THEN it was, that *Spain*, judging that ſhe could not, without offence both to her honour and her conſcience, delay any longer the applying of all poſſible remedies to the deplorable condition of her oppreſſed ſubjects, determined to oppoſe force to ſo many repeated attempts, commanding the marquiſs

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de Grana to cauſe the following declaration to be publiſhed in *Bruſſels*; which was done on the 11th of *December*, and afterwards to notify it to all her allies, of *Germany*, *England*, and *Holland*.

The Declaration of Otton Henriche, Marquiſe de Grana, *Governor and Captain General of the* Spaniſh *Low countries*, &c.

'FRANCE not having ſince the treaty of peace concluded in *Nimeguen*, deſiſted from breaking it with continual violences, invaſions, and uſurpations, as is notorious to all *Europe*; having particularly, from the firſt of *September* of this year, cauſed to enter into theſe provinces divers bodies of armies, which have ſacked, plundered, and made themſelves maſters of ſeveral cities, boroughs and villages; impoſed and raiſed exceſſive contributions, undermined and ruined a great number of edifices, made many perſons priſoners, and executed every thing which they thought would make the people deſperate; and that they might not omit any ſort of hoſtilities, have beſieged and taen the city and citadel of *Courtray* and the town of *Dixmude*.

'OUR Lord the king, out of the great deſire he had to preſerve the peace, having done all that was poſſible, that there might be no rupture, eſpecially during the time that chriſtendom was wreſtling with the *Ottoman* empire, but without having been able to prevail; and his majeſty, not having been able to ſuffer his good and loyal ſubjects of theſe countries to be any longer oppreſſed by the unheard-of injuſtices and violences of *France*, hath reſolved to ſuccour and defend them with all the forces of his monarchy, and hath ordained all his viceroys, governors, and captain generals of his king-

'kingdoms and eſtates, to treat *France* and her ſub-
'jects with the ſame rigours, as the profeſſed ene-
'mies to his crown.

'AND we do accordingly hereby order all the
'generals, governors, and commandants, and all
'other general officers, and all officers and ſoldi-
'ers whatſoever, of foot, and of horſe, and of what-
'ſoever nation they be, and all the other officials and
'ſubjects of his majeſty, to attack and purſue thoſe
'of *France* in what part ſoever they find them; and
'all his majeſty's ſubjects, that are within the domi-
'nions of *France*, to come out of them within fifteen
'days, reckoning from the time of the publication
'of this preſent ordinance, and that they hold no
'correſpondence, communication, or commerce with
'the ſubjects of *France* without our expreſs permiſ-
'ſion; and all officers and ſoldiers of foot and horſe,
'that are employed in the ſervice of *France*, or of
'any other foreign prince, that they do within a
'month put themſelves under his majeſty's banner
'and ſtandard, on pain of confiſcation of body and
'goods. And we do farther declare, all goods,
'moveable or fixed, and all rents, rights, actions,
'credits, and effects belonging to the ſubjects of
'*France* in theſe countries, and on which we ordered
'an embargo to be laid, by an ordinance of the 18th
'of *November* laſt, to be confiſcated to his majeſty's
'profit. And we do command all ſubjects and
'natives indifferently of the crown of *France*, being
'within theſe countries, to depart them, with their
'wives, children, and families, within eight days
'after the publication of this preſent ordinance, upon
'pain of being made priſoners of war, and being
'held as true priſoners. And if it ſhould happen,
'that any official, or other ſubject of his majeſty,
'ſhall harbour or conceal in their houſes, or any
'where elſe, any of the ſubjects of *France*, they ſhall
'for the firſt offence pay a thouſand pattacoons,

and

'and for the ſecond two thouſand, and for the third 'the confiſcation of all their goods, with other pu-'niſhments, according to the importance of the caſe; 'the one half of which mulcts ſhall be given to the 'informers, and the other half to the officers that ex-'ecute them.

'And that this preſent may be notorious to all, 'We ordain it to be publiſhed and affixed ſo long 'before, in the ordinary and accuſtomed form and 'places.'

Signed in *Bruſſels*, *Dec.* 11. 1683.

THE impreſſions which were made by the news of this manifeſto in foreign courts were various, according to their ſeveral intereſts and paſſions, and the poſture their affairs were in.

IN *Germany* it found the princes all alarmed with the preparations which were making by the *French*, the *Danes*, and the *Turks*, and ſo in no diſpoſition to furniſh the ſuccours which were neceſſary.

IN *England*, which is more intereſted than *Spain* herſelf, to preſerve the low countries under their lawful lord, and which was obliged likewiſe by ſolemn treaties to have ſuccoured them, this manifeſto met with a diſregard which no repreſentations of the ambaſſador of *Spain*, don *Pedro Ronquillo*, were able to ſoften, as has been made known to the world, by thoſe diſcreet, and well-founded papers, which were publiſhed by that ambaſſador, in diſcharge of his miniſtry.

FINALLY, all recourſe being reduced to the ſingle republick of *Holland*, beſides the troops preſcribed by the defenſive league, ſhe propoſed to augment her forces by land, for any contingency, with a new levy of ſixteen thouſand men; and that propoſition was admitted by all, except the city of *Amſterdam*; but it is needleſs for me to enlarge on their diſputes, ſince no doubt can be made that ſo wiſe and watchful

a government, were able to diſtinguiſh betwixt the well-minded and the *Danaos & dona ferentes*, who not only inſenſibly inſinuate themſelves into all the courts of *Europe*, but into all its chief cities. On the other ſide, the pride of *France*, which had been accuſtomed to act without controul, when it had received this wound, roared all over chriſtendom, exclaimed againſt *Spain*, for having broke the peace, of which ſhe herſelf had made a jeſt, before the ink of its ratifications was dry, and has done the ſame ever ſince; nevertheleſs, *France* reckoned, that ſhe might now juſtly let looſe the laſt reins to her fury; and whereas her perjured breaches, had from the beginning, had the city of *Luxemburgh* in their eye, ſo now the marſhal *de Crequi* received a particular order, whilſt *Humiers* and *Montal*, with other bodies, took new ways to glut their inhumanity, to march with ten thouſand men, and ſix thouſand bombs, to that city, being reſolved to make ſuch a bonfire of it, as ſhould conſume every thing that was in it, animate and inanimate. The truth is, conſidering their forces, their having miſcarried in that attempt, cannot be attributed ſo much to the want of human diligence, as to the providence of heaven, which permitted the loyalty of ſuch exemplary ſubjects to be tried and manifeſted, at the coſt of few lives; that helliſh enterprize having ended in a ſhameful retreat; yet, after this, they had the impudence to propagate, the equivocal abſurdity of *Spain's* having firſt broke the treaty of *Nimeguen*; and that it was the *Spaniards* that hindered that union of chriſtians againſt the common enemy, which the holy and univerſal paſtor had ſo much deſired and ſolicited: in fine, the moſt chriſtian king having, after the famous ſucceſſes of the *Coſſacks* againſt the *Tartars* and *Turks*, been admoniſhed afreſh, to grant ſo great a benefit to chriſtendom, and which depended wholly on his will, that king excuſed himſelf, with the foremen-

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tioned declaration, and in ſuch terms, that he had almoſt perſuaded the court of *Rome* to believe, the ſtrangeſt and moſt inconſiſtent paradox, that any imagination ever formed. As if he, who had uſurped almoſt one entire province, and a great part of three more, and who had made ſuch great devaſtations in the low countries, was not the perſon, who, with the trumpet of peace, had begun a war; or as if the declaration of war, conſiſted leſs in making it, than in proclaiming it. As if in *Rome*, and at the ſame time in *Ratisbon*, *Vienna*, *London*, and the *Hague*, the miniſters of the catholick king, had not with authentick inſtruments, from time to time repreſented the atrocity of thoſe caſes, and the barbarous ruins with which the *French* had peaceably, according to their ironical language, plagued the low countries. They ſtill offered on his catholick majeſty's part, the greateſt readineſs, within the amicable lines preſcribed by treaties, towards an adjuſtment of all that *France* pretended to; and likewiſe proteſted againſt the violent reſolutions, which ſuch cruel and repeated outrages would compel them to, if they that were intereſted in the peace of *Europe*, and were bound both by divine and human laws to it, did not take ſome effectual courſe to put a ſtop to thoſe violences, by reducing the diſturbers of the peace ſo, as to compel them to deſiſt from any new attempts, and to make reparation for thoſe they had executed.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this, the cardinal *Melini*, the apoſtolical nuncio to his catholick majeſty, on the firſt of *February*, preſented a breve of his holineſs's, intimating, *the great grief which the declaration of war betwixt* Spain *and* France *had given him, and exhorting them to conclude either a peace or a truce, though they ſacrificed ſomething to the benefit of chriſtendom.* On which the cardinal nuncio having enlarged much in the conference he had on the third of *February*,

ruary, with the marqueſs of *Aſtorga*, who was appointed to treat with him, his catholick majeſty returned the following anſwer:

'THAT the ſuppoſition which he made of his majeſty's having began a war, was intirely contrary 'to matter of fact; the many inſults made by the 'French during the whole time of the peace, being 'notorious to all the world, and therefore every one 'muſt be convinced, that his majeſty's taking up 'arms was ſolely in defence of his invaded dominions and his ſubjects, who were ruined by undue 'contributions, unjuſt plunders, and barbarous 'burnings, and that thereby his majeſty had been 'diſabled from aſſiſting the emperor in the defence 'of chriſtendom; all his forces having been by the 'arms of the moſt chriſtian king, imployed ſo about 'his indiſpenſable obligation, of protecting his own 'poor ſubjects, that he had none at liberty to oppoſe the common danger, which had threatned all 'the reſt; which danger was ſolicited and heighten'd 'in the moſt critical conjuncture of *Europe*, by the 'ſame prince who ſupported it afterwards by ſuch 'ſcandalous diverſions in *Germany*, and in the 'north, ſometimes with executions, and ſometimes 'with the threats of arms; and in other courts, 'which his power could not reach, with frauds, negotiations, and corruptions. For which reaſon by 'how much the greater the violence was with which 'his majeſty, for the good of chriſtendom, diſſembled ſo many inſults, by ſo much the more he 'would be diſabled, by the continuance of ſuch 'troubles, from concurring hereafter to that which 'his holineſs ſolicited ſo much, and as to which no 'fault could be attributed to his majeſty; but to 'him, who againſt the faith of a peace, and of publick conventions, againſt the ſacred words of kings, 'and the laws of nations, had conquered provinces, 'plundered countries, and robbed churches, and who,

'who, in a word, was become a publick incendi-
'ary, at a time when the *Turks*, tho' with leſs
'cruelty, attacked the chriſtian provinces: and it
'may be proved by facts of particular days, that
'the motions of the *Ottoman* forces viſibly corre-
'ſponded with thoſe of the troops of *France*. The
'operations of the moſt chriſtian king, in ſeizing
'*Strasburgh*, the encampments on the rivers of the
'*Saar* and the *Soane*, and the marches of three ar-
'mies at once in concert, to the frontiers of *Flan-
'ders*, went hand in hand with thoſe of the *Turk*,
'when he began to march, when he laid ſiege to
'*Vienna*, and when that city was ready to have ſur-
'rendered. That his majeſty cannot forbear to put
'his eminency in mind of this, that ſo his holineſs
'being rightly informed of all that has been done,
'might conſider that the good offices and repreſenta-
'tions in his holineſs's name, have much leſs grounds
'in regard to his majeſty, than they would have
'had, if they had been made before with the
'*French*, on the fore-mentioned occaſions, to the
'having prevented his majeſty's being brought by
'their violences to an indiſpenſable neceſſity of ma-
'king a defence; ſince his holineſs, from that time,
'could not doubt, but that things would be brought
'to this paſs, and that he who diſturbed *Europe*, was
'he that encouraged the *Turk*, ſolicited the *Hunga-
'rian* rebels, diſturbed the union and conformity of
'the diet of *Poland*, and endeavoured with all his
'force to debilitate the ſtrength of chriſtendom, that
'he might promote in it his ſcandalous uſurpations,
'which are ſo contrary to all the laws of God and
'man. Now, conſidering that his majeſty is under
'an obligation to defend himſelf, theſe inſtances of
'his holineſs ought to have been applied to the moſt
'chriſtian king, to whom only they could be proper-
'ly made; his holineſs ought alſo to have done that
'himſelf which he perſuades others to; for though

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'it is true, that he ſuccoured the empire liberally, 'yet it would have been a much greater aſſiſtance 'to have given encouragement to the league of *Italy*, 'in order to have maintained an univerſal peace, and 'to have oppoſed thoſe who ſhould have diſturbed 'it. In this union his majeſty was ready to have 'entered, and, from a foreſight of the things that 'have ſince happened, often urged the court of *Rome* 'to it; to which if his holineſs had, at the firſt inſtan-'ces which were made to him, agreed, things had ne-'ver been reduced to the extremity they are in; ſuch 'a league being indiſputably the moſt effectual means 'to obtain what his holineſs ſo much deſires, and 'on the ſecurity of that only he would be able to 'oppoſe the common enemy, aſſiſt the emperor, 'moderate the diverſions which have been made in 'favour of the *Turks*, and ſuccour the tottering 'ſtate of chriſtianity; that his majeſty could not hear 'what had been offered, without a ſpecial reſent-'ment; nor forbear retoring it; ſince, when the '*French* had executed ſo many inſults, uſurpations, 'burnings and ſacrileges, at a time when the *Ottoman* 'troops had marched and laid ſiege to *Vienna*, his 'holineſs's mind had not moved him to cut all 'thoſe violences ſhort. But now, when his majeſty 'has begun to put himſelf in a poſture of defence 'againſt unjuſt hoſtilities, and when they, who had 'begun the war, had taken poſſeſſion of entire provin-'ces and towns, he is ſurprized that his holineſs ſhould 'propoſe to him an abſolute unconditional truce, 'and ſo to leave the *French* in poſſeſſion of all 'they have uſurped, and of which his majeſty deſires 'only a re-integration, in obſervance of a peace, 'which, though it coſt his majeſty ſo dear, was ſo 'ſolemn and general as that of *Nimeguen*.'

To ſuch proper expreſſions of the moſt certain truth, it would be raſhneſs to add any thing elſe, but prayers to the divine majeſty, beſeeching him to inſpire

inſpire the miniſters aſſembled at the *Hague*, to confer about thoſe important matters on which depends the peace of *Europe*, with what ſhall be moſt convenient, and to give ſuch force to their reſolutions, that juſtice may prevail, the injured be relieved, and the common diſturber of *Europe*, diſconcerted in all his ambitious, tyrannical, and oppreſſive views.

F I N I S.

Next Week will be Publiſhed, further ſhewing the good Faith of France,

Chriſtianiſſimus Chriſtianandus: Or, Reaſons for the Reduction of *France* to a more Chriſtian State.

Odimus accipitrem, qui ſemper vivit in armis.